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HANDBOOK OF PAINTING.

THE ITALIAN SCHOOLS.

1466

BASED ON THE HANDBOOK OF KUGLER.

ORIGINALLY EDITED

By SIR CHARLES L. EASTLAKE, P.R.A.

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Fifth Edition.

THOROUGHLY REVISED AND IN PART REWRITTEN,

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ERRATA TO VOL. II.

P. 353, line 5, *for* "which has disappeared" *substitute* "now in the Public Gallery."

„ 412, line 10, *for* "1540" *read* "after 1565."

„ 418, line 7 from bottom, *for* "Castelbarca" *read* "Castelbarco."

„ 424, note 2, *for* "1750" *read* "1507."

„ 454, line 22, *for* "the same city" *read* "Milan."

„ 470, line 18, *for* "Anghiara" *read* "Anghiari."

„ 576, line 4 from bottom, *for* "Canonica" *read* "Camonica."

„ 583, line 1 at bottom, *for* "Castelbàrca" *read* "Castelbarco."

„ 741, Index; del. "Ferramola" from the Tadini Gallery.

„ 722, Index; under head of Signorelli strike out "no" in line 9.

„ 753, Index; under head of *Vatican*, 1st col., references to Raphael, del. "461," and insert "525."

HANDBOOK

OF

PAINTING IN ITALY

PART II.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FERRARESE SCHOOL.

EARLY painters of Ferrara are scarcely entitled ...ition, affording as they do little more than a list of antiq... ...ames. The Ferrarese school is surprised to have taken ...e contemporaneously with that of Venice, and to have b... ...erived from a Greek painter settled in that city. *Gelasi... ...iccolò, Antonio Alberti da Ferrara*, and *Laudadio Ro... ...do*, are names attached to decaying frescoes, mostly of ... ...y Gio... tesque character. No painter of any importance appears to have flourished in Ferrara and its surrounding territory during the fourteenth century. The first to be noticed is *Galasso Galassi*, who, according to Vasari, painted frescoes in the church of Mezzaratta near Bologna in 1404, remains of which still exist, and are of the rudest description. A younger painter of the same name, some of whose works in the Bologna have been confounded with those of the earlier *Galasso*, was born in 1438. His pictures—such as the figure of the Baptist in the church of S. Stefano (Bologna)—are usually signed with two G's interlaced; a monogram which that also appears to have been used by the elder *Galassi*. He was a dry and unattractive painter.

Another Ferrarese painter contemporary with the first *Galassi, Antonio da Ferrara*, deserves mention as the grand-

father of *Timoteo Viti*. He migrated to Urbino, and painted there, in 1439, an altar-piece for the church of S. Bernardino, now in the Academy of Fine Arts in that town.

The Dukes of Ferrara called to their service *Niccolò Pisano* and *Pietro della Francesca*, and both these distinguished painters may have had some share in forming the Ferrarese school, which, however, bears no witness to the influence of either of them, but, like other schools of North Italy, shows to some extent that of *Squarcione* and his followers.

It was not until the second half of the fifteenth century that the true Ferrarese school, which was destined to exercise an influence over the art of Central Italy, and which even indirectly contributed, as will hereafter be seen, to the formation of *Raphael* and *Correggio*, may be said to have been founded by two painters who deserve special notice, *Cosimo Tura*, called *il Cosmè*, and *Francesco Cossa*.

Cosimo Tura was born about 1420, and was probably a pupil of the elder *Galassi* and of *Squarcione*. He died between 1494 and 1498. He was a painter of undoubted power, even genius, but of unequal merit, yet always interesting and deserving of study; sometimes quaint and dry, and even grotesque, not to say repulsive, at the same time grand and even noble in his forms, of singular energy and correctness of drawing, and of great finish in the details. An example of his coarse, violent, and exaggerated style is furnished by a 'Pietà'—the Virgin sustaining the body of the Dead Christ, and three Saints—in the Louvre. His higher qualities are seen in the Annunciation and St. George and the Dragon, now in the choir of the Cathedral of Ferrara (formerly the shutters of the organ), and in a very noble full-length figure of St. Jerome, in the public gallery of that city, in which he has introduced a striking architectural background with various classical details and ornaments, after the manner of *Squarcione* and his school. A large work, a Madonna and Child with Saints, in the Berlin Museum, is a specimen of his fantastic architecture, with imitations of various marbles and metals, and of his bright crude colours. A picture by him in the National

Gallery of the same character, represents the Virgin, enthroned, with the sleeping Child on her knee, and boy angels playing on musical instruments. On either side of them are inscribed the ten commandments in Hebrew characters—some Hebrew scholar having infected the Farrarese masters of *Tura*'s time with the fashion of introducing sentences in that tongue into their pictures. In the same collection, 'St. Jerome striking his breast with a stone, Duke Borso of Ferrara kneeling in the background,' is an example of *Tura*'s force and energy. When this characteristic painter is once known he will be recognised, especially by the angular and strongly marked folds of his draperies, under various names in different collections.

Cosimo Tura was employed by Duke Borso of Este, between 1468 and 1471, in decorating the palace, or rather pleasure retreat, of the *Schifanoia* in a retired part of Ferrara. With him was associated *Francesco Cossa*. On the walls of the principal hall of this building were frescoes in twelve compartments and in two series—an upper and a lower—the upper representing the twelve signs of the zodiac, with the triumphs of heathen deities, symbolical figures, and such feasts and games as were appropriate to each month of the year. Beneath were seen the principal events in the life of Borso, whilst in the background were represented the labours of the field, popular festivals, and other subjects recalling the occupations of the months, as seen in almanacs and illuminated books of devotion of the time. The greater part of these frescoes have perished. Of those remaining, two can be safely ascribed to *Cossa*; the remainder are by a scholar of *Cosimo Tura*. They are highly interesting as illustrating the manners and dress of the period, and are rich in architectural details.

Francesco Cossa, or *del Cossa*, born about 1430, employed with *Tura* in the decoration of the Schifanoia, was a painter of even grander type. Whilst *Tura* remained during his life at Ferrara, *Cossa*, considering himself insufficiently remunerated by Duke Borso for his labours, quited his native city, established himself at Bologna in 1470, and gave a new direction to the Bolognese school of painting. He is princi-

pally known by his altar-piece in the Pinacoteca of this city, painted in 1474, representing the Virgin and Child and Saints and the kneeling figure of the Donor (see woodcut), showing a painter of great power and originality—the heads grand, massive, and finely modeled, the draperies broad and well disposed, the architectural decorations executed with much mastery. Other works by him at Bologna, but passing under other names, are stately figures of the twelve Apostles in the Marsili chapel of the church of S. Petronio; a St. Jerome enthroned, over an altar in the same church, of grand and severe character, with a fine architectural background, Squarcionesque in character; and a beautiful circular window in the church of S. Giovanni in Monte, representing St. John in Patmos, inscribed with his monogram; and a second window executed from his design.* An Annunciation, in the Dresden collection (No. 21), attributed doubtfully to *Antonio Pollajuolo*, is believed to be by *Cossa*. He died young, between 1480 and 1485.

A contemporary painter, *Stefano da Ferrara* (died in 1500), has attached his name to a large altar-piece of Squarcionesque character in the Brera, representing the Virgin and Child enthroned, and four Saints, with elaborate architecture and figured bas-reliefs. It is his only known work.

But a master of even greater power and individuality than those above mentioned, judging from the few remaining works which can be confidently attributed to him, was *Ercole Roberti de' Grandi*, who must not be confounded, as Vasari appears to have done, with his relative, a later painter, known as *Ercole Grandi di Giulio Cesare*. *Ercole Roberti* was the son of *Antonio Grandi*, also a painter, and is believed to have been born between 1440 and 1450. A drawing by him in the His de la Salle collection in the Louvre, representing the Massacre of the Innocents, in which he nearly approaches the grandeur of conception and masterly execution of *Mantegna*, seems to show that he had either studied under that great painter, or had experienced his influence; whilst other of his works appear to point to

* Some of these pictures are attributed in the guide books to *Costa*.

that of *Giovanni Bellini*. Pictures by him are rare, and none are authenticated by his signature—his name on a much-restored altar-piece representing the Entombment, in the possession of Count Zeloni of Rome, being an evident forgery, although the picture itself is probably rightly attributed to the master. In the Dresden Gallery are two compartments of a predella by him, once forming part of an altar-piece still existing in the church of S. Giovanni in Monte at Bologna, erroneously attributed by Vasari to *Lorenzo Costa*, but probably by *Cossa*. One of these compartments represents Christ on His way to Calvary; the other, Christ on the Mount of Olives. A 'Pietà' from the same predella is in the Royal Institution at Liverpool. Of similar character is a small picture in the National Gallery—the 'Children of Israel gathering Manna'—and a long predella picture in the Vatican, representing the Miracles of St. Hyacinth, there ascribed to *Benozzo Gozzoli*. All these works show *Ercole Roberti* to have been a thorough Ferrarese painter, of the school of *Cossa* and *Mantegna*, in his energetic rendering of life and character, and in his careful study of details. He probably accompanied *Cossa* to Bologna, and aided him in establishing a school in that city. He is generally supposed to have died in 1513; but a document recently discovered is said to give 1495 as the date of his death.*

Michele Coltellino, or *Cortellino*, was probably a pupil of *Ercole Roberti*. There is an altar-piece by him, dated 1506, representing the Virgin with four Saints, in the public gallery of Ferrara, in which, however, he appears rather as an imitator of *Lorenzo Costa* than of *Grandi*.

Domenico Panetti (born about 1460, died about 1512) may have been the pupil of *Cosimo Tura*, with whom he remained in Ferrara when *Cossa* and his followers settled in Bologna on the invitation of the powerful family of the Bentivogli. His works are principally found in the public gallery of Ferrara. They show him to have been a painter of little imagination, dry and mannered, and following, as a colourist, the traditions of the Ferrarese school.

* This statement comes from Signor Venturi, the director of the public gallery at Modena.

Baldassare Estense, conjectured by his name to have been an illegitimate scion of the house of Este, was probably a pupil of *Francesco Cossa*. He was rather an amateur than a professional painter, having held a high military rank. The frescoes which he painted in Ferrara have perished; but portraits by him are known—two inscribed with his name, and one dated 1483.*

Francesco Bianchi, known as "*il Frarrè*," (i.e. the Ferrarese), was probably a pupil of *Cosimo Tura*. He left his native city and established himself, about 1480, at Modena, where he founded a school which produced *Correggio*, who thus owed his early training to a Ferrarese, and in his youthful works shows the influence of the Ferrarese school. Of this we shall have to speak when we come to this great painter. *Bianchi*'s works are found at Ferrara and Modena; but the Louvre possesses the most important—a striking altar-piece representing the Virgin and Child enthroned, and two Saints of considerable original power. In colour it is more pale and delicate than is usual in works of the Ferrarese school; but the details, such as the throne ornamented with subjects in chiaroscuro, are characteristic of his contemporaries *Lorenzo Costa* and *Ercole Roberti di Giulio Cesare*. The heads, especially that of St. Benedict, are finely modeled, and the expression of the Virgin very beautiful. An Annunciation by *Bianchi* in the Modena public gallery has many of the fine qualities of *Francia*, to whom it was long attributed. A picture representing the Virgin and St. Joseph adoring the Infant Christ, also by the master, is in the collection of Mr. Leyland (London). *Bianchi* died in 1510.

The most eminent scholar of *Cosimo Tura*, and one of the most refined and imaginative painters of the Ferrarese school, was *Lorenzo Costa*, born in 1460.† He left Ferrara about 1483 for Bologna, where *Francesco Cossa* had already been established for some years. He appears to have formed a friendship with *Francia*, who was then working as a goldsmith, but who abandoned his early profession in order to

* Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'History of Painting in North Italy,' vol. i., p. 526. One of these portraits was in the Costabili Gallery (Ferrara), which has now been dispersed.

† He may also have studied under *Ercole Roberti de' Grandi*.

place himself under the Ferrarese master to study painting. The two artists occupied different floors in the same house, and not unfrequently worked together on the same picture, as on an altar-piece in the church of the Misericordia (Bologna)—the centre part, which has disappeared, having been painted by *Francia*, and the upper, Christ between the Virgin and an Angel, still remaining in its place, by *Costa*. *Costa*'s earliest signed works in Bologna are the tempera pictures on canvas on the side walls of the chapel of the Bentivoglio family in the church of S. Giacomo Maggiore, painted in 1488,—one representing Giovanni Bentivoglio II., Lord of Bologna, with his wife and numerous family, in adoration before the enthroned Virgin. The influence of *Cosimo Tura* and *Ercole Roberti de' Grandi* is apparent in the somewhat dry treatment, hard outlines and constrained attitudes of these figures, which are, however, full of character, and drawn with great precision. The same influence is perceived in the somewhat unintelligible allegory of 'Life and Death,' on the opposite wall of the same chapel, painted by *Costa* two years later.

In an altar-piece by him in the Bacciocchi chapel in S. Petronio (Bologna), painted in 1492, representing the Virgin and Child enthroned, and four Saints, the influence of *Ercole Roberti* is seen in the angular folds of the drapery and the elaborate architectural details, characteristic of the followers of *Squarcione*; but it is richer and more harmonious in colour than the pictures in the Bentivoglio chapel. The latter, however, are painted in tempera, and have been much injured by repaint and restoration.

The rapid progress made by *Costa* in freeing himself from the hard and dry manner of *Tura* and *Cossa* is shown by his magnificent altar-piece in the church of S. Giovanni in Monte (Bologna), painted about 1496 or 97, representing the Virgin and Child enthroned, with four Saints below, and two Angels of exquisite beauty playing on musical instruments. Here we find him already an accomplished painter, a firm draughtsman, and an excellent colourist. The architectural details are admirably rendered, and through an opening in the base of the Virgin's throne, after the Fer-

rarese fashion,* is seen a very pleasing landscape. 'In the same church, behind the high altar, is another fine work by *Costa*, in which he has represented the Virgin in Glory, between the first two persons of the Trinity, with six Saints, and a landscape of singular beauty. In an altar-piece in the public gallery of Bologna, representing St. Petronius, the patron Saint of that city, and SS. Francis of Assisi and Thomas Aquinas, signed, and dated 1502, he has shown himself a master of expression in the heads, especially in that of St. Petronius.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, *Costa* and *Francia*, with their pupils, were commissioned to decorate the walls of the chapel of S. Cecilia (Bologna), erected by the Bentivoglio family, with frescoes representing the legends of the Saint and her husband, St. Valerian. 'Pope St. Urban converting Valerian,' and 'St. Cecilia distributing alms among the poor,' are by his hand—graceful and refined compositions with beautiful landscape backgrounds.

Costa does not hold the place in the history of Art which he deserves. He had all the refinement and sentiment of *Perugino* without his affectation and conventionality; and at the same time more imagination, a more poetical conception of his subject and a more lively and natural rendering of it than the Umbrian painter. This is shown by a comparison of his allegory of the 'Court of Isabella d'Este,' in the Louvre, of which we give a woodcut, with that of 'Love and Chastity,' hanging near it, by *Perugino*. The grace and elegance of his figures have frequently caused works by him to be attributed to the Umbrian master; as the fine altar-piece in the church of S. Martino Maggiore (Bologna), representing the Assumption, which is still ascribed to *Perugino*.

As a colourist, *Costa* was not inferior at his best to *Francia*, and he surpassed him, as he did *Perugino*, in imagination, and in truthful and lively representation of his subject. He excelled in landscapes, and in this department of

* The fashion of decorating the Virgin's throne with bas-reliefs, and of leaving an opening in it through which a landscape is seen, is characteristic of the Ferrarese school.

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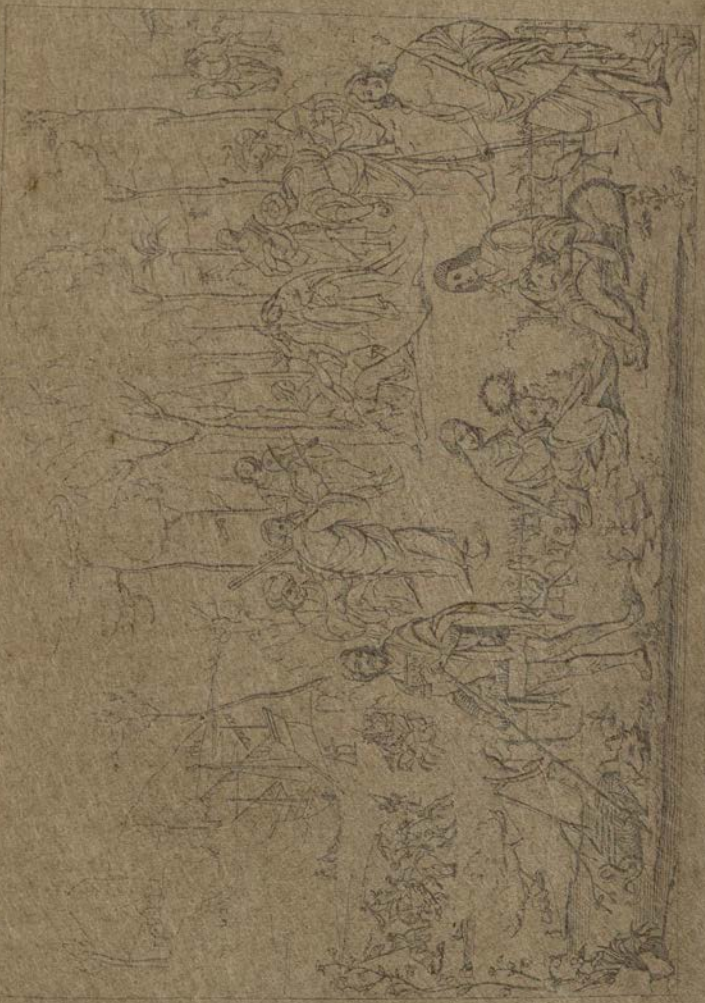

his art holds, perhaps, the foremost place among the painters of his time. He delights in representing, in soft, pleasing and harmonious tones, fertile valleys and distant blue hills, introducing spirited groups of figures and incidents in his backgrounds.

Costa's works are numerous in Bologna, and are to be found elsewhere in public and private collections. He is not adequately represented by the 'Madonna and Child, with Angels,' in the National Gallery.* In the collection of Lord Wimborne at Canford is a large altar-piece by him—the Virgin enthroned, with two Saints, and two Angels playing on musical instruments—with the elaborate and carefully executed architectural details, and the pierced throne, characteristic of the Ferrarese school. The Berlin Gallery possesses more than one example of the master.

Costa was a skilful portrait painter. A fine half-length of Giovanni Bentivoglio in the Pitti palace, is inscribed with his name.

After the expulsion of the Bentivogli from Bologna, and the death of *Mantegna* in 1506, *Costa* was invited by the Gonzagas, and especially by Isabella of Este, to take the place of that painter, and settled in 1509 in Mantua, where he executed many important works, among them the Allegory, to which we have already referred, and another picture of the same class, both in the Louvre, but the latter in a damaged condition. He died there in 1536.†

Ercole Grandi di Giulio Cesare probably studied in the school of *Lorenza Costa* and *Francia*, when those masters were working together in Bologna; but he was rather an imitator of the former than of the latter. The date of his birth has not been ascertained; but he appears to have died young in 1531. From the grace and refinement of his forms he has been called "the *Raphael* of the Ferrarese school," while *Costa* has been termed its "*Perugino*"—these two latter

* The portrait attributed to him in the National Gallery, No. 895, is of the Florentine school, and probably (as already stated) by *Piero di Cosimo*.

† There is an altar-piece in the Poldi-Pezzoli Gallery (Milan), dated 1531, and signed by *Ippolito Costa*, who may have been a son of *Lorenzo*. He was an eclectic painter of small merit.

masters having, as we have seen, many qualities in common. *Ercole Grandi*'s most important production is the great altar-piece in the National Gallery, which was attributed to *Costa* in the chapel of the foundling hospital at Ferrara, whence it originally came. It represents the Virgin with the Child, seated on one of those thrones richly decorated with chiaro-scuros and simulated sculptured bas-reliefs, characteristic, as we have more than once observed, of the Ferrarese school. Below her stand St. William, clad in armour, and the Baptist. In this fine work *Ercole Grandi* appears as an imitator of *Costa*, the Virgin and Child being almost a reproduction of a similar group in an altar-piece by that master in the church of S. Giovanni (Bologna).* Eight pictures by *Ercole*, representing Scripture subjects, were formerly in the Costabili Gallery (Ferrara). The two best of the series, 'Moses leaving the Land of Egypt,' and the 'Children of Israel gathering Manna,'—remarkable for their graceful figures and their spirited drawing—are in the possession of the editor; as also a small and highly finished Virgin and Child and Saints, known as the 'Madonna della Scimia,' from a monkey which the painter has introduced seated on a step of the throne. In the public gallery of Ferrara there is a Martyrdom of St. Sebastian by him, with excellent portraits of the members of the Mori family, the donors of the picture, and a very pleasing background of landscape and architecture. The head of the martyred saint is noble and pathetic in expression. A small picture formerly in the Corsini Gallery at Rome, highly finished like a miniature, and of Raphaelesque grace, representing St. George and the Dragon, has *Ercole Grandi*'s monogram. He was the author of some fine frescoes in the ceiling of a room in the Palazzo Calcagnini Estense (Ferrara).

Another painter of the Ferrarese school, who appears to have been a pupil of *Panetti*, and whose style approaches that of *Garofalo*, to whom his works have been frequently attributed, was *Giambattista Benvenuti*, called *l'Ortolano*, or

* Signor Morelli observes of this picture that it "comes very near to *Ercole*'s master *Costa*, and it requires a very intimate knowledge of the Ferrarese school to detect therein the mind and hand of the pupil," 'Italian Masters in German Galleries,' p. 114.

the gardener, from his father's occupation. He is supposed to have died young, about 1525; but little, or nothing, is known of his life. His masterpiece is the large picture in the National Gallery, from the church of Bondeno, near Ferrara, representing SS. Sebastian, Rock, and Demetrius, in which he shows himself a powerful colourist and a skilful draughtsman. In an altar-piece formerly in the church of S. Niccolò (Ferrara), and now in the collection of Lord Wimborne (Canford)—Joseph presenting the Infant Christ to the Virgin, with five saints and martyrs in the foreground—he appears as an imitator of *Lorenzo Costa* in the graceful movement and expression of his figures, and as a colourist.* Only three pictures now in Ferrara are confidently ascribed to him—a Virgin and Child and two Saints in the sacristy of the Duomo—in which he shows himself a feeble imitator of *Garofalo*. Authentic works by *Ortolano* are so rare that some have even questioned his existence.†

Caligarino, originally a shoemaker, who, it is said, became a painter from a remark of *Dosso Dossi*'s, that the boots *Caligarino* had made him fitted as if painted, was another Ferrarese painter of the time of *Ortolano*, who appears to have been a scholar of that master. Little is known of his works.

Mazzolino (b. 1481—d. 1530) was a scholar of *Panetti* and *Ercole Roberti de' Grandi*, and is thoroughly typical of the Ferrarese school. His pictures are usually small, and of Flemish minuteness, with great depth and power of local colour, and often heightened with gold in the lights. In the background he generally introduces rich architecture, ornamented with bas-reliefs in classic taste. The heads of his figures are short and round, and sometimes fantastic in character. Works by him are found in most collections. Some of the best examples are in the Doria and Borghese galleries in Rome. Several good specimens are in the National Gallery. Two—one, Christ disputing with the Doctors, with figures the size of life, the other, a Virgin and Child, with the Magdalen and St. Anthony about half

* Writers on Ferrarese art consider this picture to be the masterpiece of the painter. See Laderchi 'La Pittura Ferrarese,' p. 100; Baruffaldi, 'Vite dei Pittori e Scultori Ferrarese'; Lanzi 'Storia Pittorica dell' Italia' &c.

† Cittadella. 'Notizie relative a Ferrara,' vol. ii., p. 48.

life-size,—both in the Berlin Museum, are rich in colour; but their minute execution hardly fits the scale adopted.

The greatest colourist of the Ferrarese school, and a painter of a highly poetical imagination, was *Giovanni di Lutero*, known as *Dosso Dossi* (b. 1479—d. 1542).* His first masters were probably *Panetti* and *Lorenzo Costa*. At a later period of his life he may have visited Venice, and have studied the works of *Titian*, *Palma*, and especially *Giorgione*, whom he almost equals in the splendour and glow of his colouring. With *Titian* he probably became personally acquainted when that master visited the Court of Alfonso I. at Ferrara, where *Dosso* was in the service of the Duke, and may thus have fallen, to some extent, under the influence of the great Venetian, to whom he may thus have owed much of that marvellous richness of colour which distinguishes his best works. There is no proof that he ever resided at Rome, and came under the influence of *Raphael*, like so many of his contemporaries, although it is known that he copied *Raphael*'s pictures of St. George and St. Michael for the Duke, his patron. *Dosso* always remained, in his artistic instincts and feelings, a true Ferrarese, retaining to the last all the characteristics of the school. His masterpiece is the great altar-picture formerly in the church of S. Andrea at Ferrara, but now in the public gallery of that city, and one of the principal Art treasures of Italy. This sumptuous work, notwithstanding the irreparable injuries it has sustained from injudicious restorations and repaints, which have dulled its original brilliancy, is still a perfect blaze of colour. In the centre are represented the Virgin and Child, with the little Baptist, on a lofty throne beneath a canopy of unsurpassable richness, and St. John seated below, with other Saints. In compartments on either side are full-length figures of SS. Sebastian and George (a very noble figure) below, and SS. Gregory and Ambrose above.

* Ariosto ('Orlando Furioso,' xxxiii. 2) mentions him and his brother among the greatest painters of his time—*Leonardo*, *Mantegna*, and *Giovanni Bellini*; but Vasari ill-naturedly and unjustly observes that the poet's pen procured them greater fame than all the brushes and paints they consumed during their lives.*

CIACH, a picture by Dosso Dossi, in the Borghese Gallery, Rome

An altar-piece in the Dresden Gallery, representing the Eternal in Glory in the act of blessing the Virgin, and SS. Gregory, Ambrose, Augustin and Jerome standing below —an early work of the painter—is nobly conceived, rich in colour, and with a magnificent landscape The figure of the Virgin is of singular beauty, and the four Fathers of the Church are living in their movements. This is, perhaps, the best example of the master to be found to the north of the Alps, where his works are rare. In the Cathedral of Modena is a Virgin in the clouds, with SS. Sebastian, Jerome and John the Baptist below, by him, which is a master-piece, and in the Pitti a 'Repose in Egypt,' with a charming landscape. In the National Gallery he is insufficiently represented by an Adoration of the Magi; and a Holy Family, with the Infant Christ holding a cock under His arm, is doubtfully ascribed to him in Hampton Court Palace. In the collection of Lord Wimborne (Canford) there is a life-sized figure of St. John the Baptist (some-what restored) by *Dosso*, formerly in the Costabili Gallery (Ferrara), freely drawn and in a rich, deep tone of colour, with a fine landscape background.

The master is seen in another vein in his favourite mythological and fantastic subjects. A somewhat stiff and probably early picture of this kind—an over-crowded composition which gives but a faint idea of his powers—is the so-called 'Bacchanal' in the Pitti Palace. It represents a motly group of ladies and gentlemen, some of them half nude, pressing round a table on which lie masks, musical instruments, &c. In the 'Circe,'—a far more interesting picture in the Borghese Palace (Rome)—we find him indulging in a highly poetical and imaginative feeling, in the greatest *naïveté* of expression, and in a richness and depth of colour worthy of *Giorgione*. The Enchantress, a form of pleasing individuality, clad in a gorgeous purple and gold robe, is seated in a beautiful forest landscape. The successful exertion of her magic art is expressed in her confident and triumphant action. She holds in her right hand a tablet with necromantic signs. At her feet are a magic circle, a coat of mail, a dog, and two birds. Near her are several

little figures bound to a tree. At a distance are three shepherds (see illustration).

In the Dresden Gallery are several decoration pictures which may have been designed, and perhaps finished, by him, but which, for the most part, were probably executed by his pupil *Girolamo da Carpi*, and by his younger brother *Battista Dossi*; and even in one case, according to Signor Morelli, by *Garofalo*.* They may have adorned an apartment of the Ducal Palace at Ferrara, and represent principally allegorical and mythological subjects.

Dosso was distinguished as a portrait painter, a department of his art in which he almost rivalled his great contemporary *Titian*. Portraits by him of the Dukes of Ferrara, and of other personages, are in the public gallery at Modena.

Dosso's works, frequently pass under other names—as a fine but much neglected picture in the public gallery of Rovigo, there attributed to *Garofalo*; the finely modeled and coloured St. Sebastian in the Brera, long assigned to *Giorgione*, but now restored to its right author; a St. John the Baptist in the Pitti; and the grandly painted picture 'David with the head of Goliath' in the Borghese Gallery (Rome), both ascribed to the same master.

Battista Dossi, who died about 1549, was mainly a painter of landscape, and assisted his brother in the backgrounds of his pictures Although his colouring is purely Ferrarese, he seems to have been inspired in the minuteness and fantastical character of his works by some Flemish painter—such as *Jerome Bosch*. Two of his landscapes, one representing a distinguished company encamped upon a sea shore, the other demons in a wilderness, are to be seen in the Borghese Gallery, and a third in the Doria collection (Rome).

Girolamo da Carpi, whom we have already mentioned, as a pupil and assistant of *Dosso Dossi*, and who worked under *Garofalo*, died in 1556. He was the son of a painter in the service of Lucrezia Borgia. In company with *Dosso* he painted several rooms in the Belvedere, a country seat of the Dukes of Ferrara. One of his best works, an Adoration of the Magi, is in the church of S. Martino at Bologna.

* 'Italian Masters,' &c., p. 115, note.

Benvenuto Tisi da Garofalo, or *Garofolo*, a village in the district of Polesina on the Po,* (b. 1481—d. 1559), was a scholar of *Panetti*, as may be seen from his early works, in which he imitated that master's warm, redish colouring, and adopted his types, especially in his representation of the Virgin and his landscape backgrounds. At a later period he appears to have come under the influence of *Dosso Dossi*, and finally under that of *Lorenzo Costa*. In 1499 he was apprenticed to *Soriani* at Cremona, but deserted that painter's *atelier* for Rome.

Although *Garofalo* has been the best known and most popular painter of the Ferarese school, he was greatly inferior to his contemporary *Dosso Dossi* in imagination, in the vigorous conception of his subjects, and as a colourist, but he has more refinement and elegance than that master, and a conscientiousness of execution, not always found in *Dosso*. He ultimately settled in Rome, but he retained the traditions of the Ferrarese school in his style. The most considerable works of his later time are not always the most attractive. There is a rather empty ideality of expression and a deficiency of "making out" in his large figures which the most brilliant execution cannot conceal; and though his heads are beautiful and his drapery classical, there is a certain monotony in his numerous productions.

Garofalo can be best studied in the public gallery of Ferrara, which contains an interesting series of his works, executed at different periods of his career before and after his residence in Rome, which show that he was much less of a mannerist in his early time than in his later. One representing S. Niccolò of Tolentino celebrating Mass, before two worshippers, one kneeling, is very charming from its simplicity and its refined sentiment. In another of the Virgin enthroned, with SS. Jerome and Francis of Assisi, in which he has introduced the portraits of two donors of much excellence, and a splendid landscape background,

* On one or two of his pictures this painter has painted a gilliflower, "garofano," as a monogram, whence, it is assumed, his surname; but he really derived it from the village from which his family came, if he himself was not born there.

he almost rivals *Dosso Dossi* as a colourist. In a 'Virgin adoring the Infant Saviour,'—probably painted by *Garofalo* about 1512, but ascribed in the Gallery to *Ortolano*—the type of the Madonna and the general treatment show the influence of *Lorenzo Costa*. In its cold colouring, exaggerated action of the figures, and academic treatment, an altar-piece representing Christ rising from the Tomb, mentioned by Vasari, and now in the hands of a Venice dealer, attests the evil influence exercised upon *Garofalo* by the so-called Roman school.

Works by *Garofalo*, especially small easel pictures which are the best specimens of his skill, occur frequently both in public and private collections, as they were at one time in vogue and much sought after. The Dresden and Berlin galleries possess some good examples of his best period. Of his large compositions, one of the most celebrated is the 'Entombment' in the Borghese Palace (Rome), executed carefully and with a good understanding of effect. In the Doria Gallery are a 'Salutation of the Virgin,' and an 'Adoration of the Child,' who is lying on the ground. A 'Madonna in Glory,' with a 'Santa Conversazione' below, beautifully painted, but, excepting the principal figure, unmeaning in expression, is in the Academy of Venice. A fine altar-piece, the Madonna and Child enthroned, with four standing Saints, and three works by him of minor importance, are in the National Gallery. There are several in the Louvre.

As a portrait painter, *Garofalo* holds a high rank. Probably by him is a beautiful portrait of a woman in the gallery of Modena, ascribed both to *Giorgione* and to *Palma Vecchio*. His portrait by his own hand, formerly in the Costabili collection (Ferrara), is now in that of Signor Morelli at Milan. It is a vigorously, but somewhat coarsely, painted head. He was a decorative painter of much imagination, of great taste and ingenuity, and of skilful execution, as may be seen by the beautiful frescoes with which he adorned, in 1517 and 1518, the ceilings of two rooms in the building now occupied by the Seminary at Ferrara. *Garofalo* died blind in 1559.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BOLOGNESE SCHOOL.

IN Bologna a transition from Byzantine restraint to a certain feeling for nature is seen in the first half of the fourteenth century. The names of a few painters who belong to that period, and whose works have been preserved to us, may be mentioned; but they were, for the most part mere workmen of little ability, and very inferior to their contemporaries in other parts of Italy. They cannot be said to have founded a school. Their productions are distinguished by no special character, either in conception or in execution; but are the mere rude efforts of ignorant, unskilled craftsmen, who sought to imitate, or copy, the works of men scarcely more capable than themselves, which were brought by way of trade or devotion to the city.* It was not until the *Caracci* appeared that Bologna can claim to have had a school of its own.

By *Vitale*, who, from his frequent pictures of the Virgin, attained the name of "*dalle Madonne*," are works in the public gallery of Bologna, signed, and dated 1320 and 1345. By one *Andrea da Bologna*, an imitator of *Vitale*'s manner, there is a Virgin and Child of rude execution in the church of the "Sacramento" at Pausola near Macerata, signed, and dated 1372. Another follower of *Vitale*, more worthy of record, and who has obtained a reputation, through municipal vanity, far above his deserts, is *Lippo Dalmasii*, (i.e. the son of *Dalmasius*),† born about 1376. A signed, but undated work, by him—a Virgin and Child—is in the National Gallery. Various frescoes and other works attributed to him are pointed out at Bologna. They scarcely warrant the place assigned to him by his countrymen as a

* The works of these early Bolognese painters may be best studied in the public gallery of Bologna.

† He signs himself on a picture in the church of the Spanish College at Bologna "lipus Dalmasii."

painter of eminence and the founder of a school. Among his scholars is numbered, an Ursuline Nun, the *Beata Caterina Vigri*. Coarse, rude, and almost Byzantine pictures of St. Ursula, inscribed with her name, and the dates 1452 and 1456, are in the galleries of Bologna and Venice.

Simone da Bologna was called *il Crocifissaio*, from having been chiefly employed in painting crucifixes, of which one is preserved, inscribed with his name, and dated 1370, in the Chapel of the Cross in S. Giacomo Maggiore, and a second, also signed, in S. Stefano (Bologna). *Cristoforo da Bologna*, his contemporary, has left similar works, one of them now in the public gallery at Ferrara. *Jacopo degli Avanzi* (not to be confounded with the Veronese painter *d'Avanzo*) his contemporary, is known by a signed Crucifixion in the Colonna Gallery (Rome), and by an altar-piece attributed to him in the Bologna Gallery. They show a painter of great exaggeration and feebleness.

Some of the artists above mentioned are recorded to have been employed in the decoration of the church at Mezzaratta, outside the walls of Bologna. The remains of frescoes which exist there are of little interest; but they have been carefully preserved by Signor Minghetti, the eminent Italian statesman, to whom the desecrated building now belongs.

The works we have mentioned, and others by such men as *Jacobus Paulus*, *Petrus Joanes*, and *Michele di Matteo*, or *Michele Lambertini* (probably the painter of the picture in the Venice Academy already mentioned), to be found in the Pinacoteca and public buildings of Bologna, show the little aptitude of the Bolognese of that time for the fine arts.

In the second half of the fifteenth century—about 1470—the Ferrarese painter, *Francesco Cossa*, as we have seen, established himself and opened a school at Bologna. He was followed in 1483 by *Lorenzo Costa*, and it was from him that *Francesco di Marco Raibolini*, commonly called *il Francia* (an abbreviation of *Francesco*), received his first lessons in painting.

Francia was born at Bologna in 1450. He was apprenticed to a goldsmith, and became Steward of the Gold-

smith's Guild in 1483. He gained great repute in his art, and as a medallist, but especially for his "nielli," * in which he showed himself a clever and spirited draughtsman in a dry, Squarcionesque manner, probably acquired from *Cossa*, who may have first instructed him in drawing. He became acquainted with *Lorenzo Costa* when the Ferrarese master came to Bologna, and the two artists, as it has already been stated, had their *ateliers* in the same house, occupying different floors. Probably on the advice of *Costa*, *Francia* abandoned his goldsmith's art for that of the painter, and received from his friend his first instructions in the secrets of colour. Whilst *Costa* may thus be considered to have been his master, he appears to have been to a certain extent influenced by *Ercole Roberti de' Grandi*, who was then also employed in Bologna. One of his earliest known works in painting—a small picture of the Crucifixion in the Public Library of Bologna—probably executed in 1491, shows the influence of both these masters in the richness of the colour and the fine expression of the heads, whilst the draperies have the sharp and angular folds seen in his "nielli." Another of his early pictures—a Madonna and Child and St. Joseph, in the Berlin Museum—betrays the hand of a goldsmith in the clear outline, the metallic and polished surface, and the minuteness of the detail. These characteristics were afterwards modified, though never entirely lost, in a higher development of pictorial feeling, while he continued to add to the latest date "aurifex" to his name in the signature to many of his most important productions.

It has been assumed, on insufficient grounds, that *Francia's* works show an Umbrian character, derived from seeing pictures by *Perugino* which had been brought to Bologna. His earlier manner was entirely Ferrarese, and he derived it from his master *Costa*, from whom, at one period of his career, he is not easily distinguished—works by the one being not unfrequently assigned to the other. They even appear, as already stated, to have worked together on some pictures, and a "predella" painted by *Costa* forms part of one of *Francia's*

* A kind of damask work, made by inlaying a black composition into steel or silver

great altar-pieces in the Bologna Gallery, proving the connection which existed between the two painters. The graceful, tender manner which distinguishes *Perugino* is likewise a characteristic of *Costa*, who, in this particular, is scarcely behind the Umbrian, although as a colourist he is not equal to him. *Francia* derived his grace from *Costa*, improved upon that master's colouring, was a better draughtsman, and gave a character of his own to his works. But as an imaginative and dramatic painter, in the poetical conception of his subject, in variety of types and vivid representation of action, and in feeling for nature as shown in landscape, he was unquestionably inferior to him.

It has been further assumed, that *Francia* owed his refined maturity of grace to his friendship with *Raphael*, and to the influence which the works of that great painter exercised upon him. But there is no evidence that any such friendship existed; and the letters said to have passed between them, and the sonnet addressed by *Francia* to Raphael are now adjudged by the most competent authorities to be comparatively modern forgeries.*

Bologna is rich in the works of *Francia*. The public gallery alone contains no less than nine. Unfortunately they have been all more or less damaged by ruthless restoration. Two of the finest, which were carried away to Paris in the early part of this century, were thus deprived of their original richness and harmony of colour. Among others in this collection may be especially mentioned one of his early works—the Virgin and Child, six Saints, and an Angel playing on a lute, with the portrait of the donor, signed, and dated 1494; and the Infant Christ adored by the Virgin, Saints and Angels, with the portraits of the donor, Monsignor Antonio Galeazzo Bentivoglio, and the poet Girolamo Pandolfi di Casio (see woodcut). In the church of S. Giacomo

* Sansoni's 'Vasari,' vol. iii., p. 552, note. They were first published by Malvasia in his 'Felsina Pittrice.' The originals have never been produced, and it is not probable that if Malvasia had possessed documents of so much value and interest, they would not have been found among his papers. Signor Minghetti, an excellent authority upon such a point, questions the genuineness of Raphael's letter on account of the style, which is not that of the sixteenth century. 'Raffaello,' p. 66.

THE NATIVITY, an altar-piece by Francesco Francia in the Gallery of Bologna.

Maggiore an altar-piece in the chapel of the Bentivoglio family, executed in 1499 for his patron, Giovanni Bentivoglio, then paramount in Bologna, representing the Virgin and Child with SS. Florian, Augustin, John the Evangelist and Sebastian, and Angels playing on musical instruments below and in adoration on either side, is one of *Francia*'s masterpieces for harmony and depth of colour and fulness of expression—the group of the Virgin and Child forming one of his most beautiful creations, and the figure of St. Sebastian one of his grandest. Scarcely inferior to it, though less powerful in colour and less forcible in expression, is the fine altar-piece in the church of S. Martino, also representing the Madonna and Child enthroned, and four Saints, probably painted between 1506 and 1508. In this picture we see *Francia* imitating his master by placing the Virgin on a throne, with an opening in the lower part, through which, after the Ferrarese fashion, is seen a landscape, treated quite in *Costa*'s manner.

Pictures by *Francia* existing out of his native city are too numerous to specify. The Coronation of the Virgin, in the Duomo of Ferrara, the Assumption, in the church of S. Frediano at Lucca, and a Nativity, in the Museum at Forli, however unequal in parts, are all examples of his power of spiritual expression with gem-like colour. A small but perfect example of these qualities, of his early time, is the St. Stephen, in the Borghese Gallery at Rome. A lovely Madonna and Child with St. Joseph, painted for his friend Bartolommeo Bianchini about the same time, is in the Berlin Museum. Among his still earlier works in which his relation to *Costa* may be very distinctly traced, are the Virgin worshiping the Infant Christ in a bower of roses, and the Madonna holding the Child, who stands on a table covered with a gold embroidered carpet, both in the Munich Gallery. The National Gallery fortunately possesses a work, in excellent preservation, in which *Francia*'s finest qualities attain their utmost perfection—an altar-piece, with the lunette which formed the upper part of it, formerly in the Buonvisi Chapel in the church of S. Frediano, Lucca. The little Baptist, at the foot of the throne on which are seated the Madonna and

St. Anna, pointing upwards, is one of the purest creations of art; while the Virgin weeping over the body of the Dead Christ, in the lunette, is a pathetic reality, both in age and expression, such as no other painter has brought forth.

Francia transferred all his grace and sweetness into his frescoes, the only existing specimens of which are in the Oratory of St. Cecilia at Bologna. They form part of a series illustrating the life of that Saint and St. Valerian, executed in conjunction with *Costa* and other painters in 1506.* Two are by *Francia*—St. Cecilia's marriage with St. Valerian, and her Entombment. In the latter he appears to have been assisted by *Chiodarolo*.† They are distinguished by their exquisite purity and nobility of feeling, and by the harmony of lines and colour. The whole series, which had been subjected to neglect and injury of the most sordid description, has been judiciously and successfully restored under the immediate superintendence of Signor Morelli, by Signor Cavanaghi of Milan. It consists of ten frescoes. The first two, right and left of the altar, are by *Francia;* the two following by *Costa;* the next by *Tamarozzo;* then two by *Chiodarolo;* and the remaining two by *Amico Aspertini*—these last three painters being followers, either directly or indirectly, of *Costa*. The school which he founded in Bologna is thus fully represented in this chapel.

Francia excelled in portraiture; but it may be questioned whether some of the portraits ascribed to him in public galleries are by his hand; such, for instance, as the fine likeness of Vangelista Scappi in the Uffizi. It is recorded that in female portraits he was especially successful.‡ No painter, certainly, has given greater sweetness and beauty to his Madonna heads. His power of rendering the tenderest and pearliest female complexion is unsurpassed, and a delicate carnation given to the eyelids, even in his heads of youths, which is one of the characteristics of his hand, in no way

* Signor Morelli says of these beautiful frescoes, that "the spectator is left in doubt whether *Costa* was more indebted to *Francia* or he to *Costa*," p. 234.

† Both have been published in chromolithography by the Arundel Society.

‡ Calvi, sonnet by Gio. Cano, p. 54.

impairs the beauty of his type. He died on the 5th of January, 1517. The story related by Vasari that his death was caused by envy and mortification at the sight of *Raphael*'s St. Cecilia, on the arrival of that picture at Bologna —between 1514 and 1516—is, like too many of the statements of that inaccurate historian, proved to be devoid of truth. On the other hand, it is easy to believe a saying imputed to *Raphael* that *Francia*'s Madonnas were the most devoutly beautiful he knew.

Among the scholars of *Francia* were his sons *Giacomo* and *Giulio*. Joint works by them are in the Berlin Museum and in the gallery of Bologna, signed with their initials. They continued to practise his manner, but never equalled him in beauty and dignity, nor in depth of expression. The works of *Giulio* are rare; the best of those of *Giacomo* is an altar-piece in the church of S. Domenico, Bologna, representing Christ in glory, with the Archangel Michael treading on Satan, and two Saints beneath. It shows his great inferiority to his father, of whom in his early manner he was a feeble imitator. Later he came under the influence of *Dosso Dossi*, as may be seen by two pictures by him in the Brera, both representing the Virgin and Child and various Saints. He excelled as a portrait painter, and portraits by him are often assigned to his father.* *Giulio*, who was the younger brother, was born in 1487, and died in 1543. *Giacomo*, the date of whose birth has not been ascertained, died in 1557.

Amico Aspertini, (b. 1475 d. ? 1552) who, with *Chiodarolo* and *Tamarozzo*, was associated with *Costa* and *Francia* in the decoration of the chapel of St. Cecilia, was probably a pupil of *Ercole Roberti de' Grandi* and of *Costa*.† The two frescoes which he executed there have much of the grace and beauty of *Costa*, but he generally shows himself a capricious and eccentric painter. Among his best works may be mentioned the frescoes in the chapel of S. Agostino, in S. Frediano,

* A portrait in the Pitti attributed to him, is by a Veronese painter, probably *Bonsignore*.

† He came from a family of artists. His father *Giovanni Antonio Aspertini* and his brothers *Lionello and Guido* were painters.

Lucca, in which he has introduced some fine portrait-heads, and shows himself an imitator of *Francia* in his soft and pleasing colouring. They are, however, somewhat overladen with gilded stucco reliefs—a mode of ornamentation which was then out of date. In the Berlin Museum there is an Adoration of the Kings, somewhat feeble, signed by him. The same subject by him in the Bologna Gallery is an agreeable picture, though somewhat fantastical. A pleasing fresco by him, representing Diana and Endymion, with shepherds conversing in front, is in the Palazzo della Viola (Bologna). *Guido Aspertini*, whose works are frequently confounded with those of his brother *Amico*, was inferior to him in ability, but less whimsical. A large altar-piece by *Guido* in the church of S. Martino, Bologna, representing St. Nicholas of Bari distributing marriage portions to some maidens, is of no great merit.

Giovanni Maria Chiodarolo, who painted the two frescoes in the chapel of St. Cecilia representing the Saint brought before the Roman Proconsul, and angels crowning SS. Valerian and Cecilia, both of considerable beauty, was a pupil of *Costa*. *Cesare Tamarozzo*, the author of the frescoes of the Martyrdom of the Saint and of the baptism of St. Valerian, in the same building, was also a scholar of *Costa* and of *Francia*. There is a signed picture by him—a Holy Family—in the Poldi-Pezzoli collection at Milan. Little is known of both these painters, and works by them frequently pass under the names of their masters.

But the most eminent of the pupils of *Francia* was *Timoteo Viti*, or *della Vite*, the son of one Bartolommeo. The merits of this painter have only been recognised of late years, whilst the influence which he is now proved to have exercised over the youthful *Raphael*, to which we shall have hereafter to recur, has given him an important place in art history. He was probably born at Ferrara, in 1467,* of respectable parents, his mother being the daughter

* It is doubtful whether *Timoteo* was born at Ferrara or at Urbino. His parents were natives of the former city; but removed to Urbino. According to the editors of the last catalogue of the Berlin Gallery he was born in 1469.

VIRGIN AND CHILD, AND SAINTS; by Timoteo Vite, in the Brera, Milan.

of one *Antonio*, a painter, whom we have already noticed.* When about twenty-three years old, *Timoteo* was sent to Bologna to learn the goldsmith's art; but, having a more decided disposition for painting, he entered the studio of *Francia*. He remained in Bologna about five years as the pupil and assistant of this master, who appears to have acquired a sincere affection for him, and to have parted with him with sorrow.† Returning to Urbino, when he was about twenty-seven years of age, in 1495, he dwelt there for the remainder of his life, may be paying occasional visits to the neighbouring towns, and even to Rome, although there is no evidence that he was ever in that city, except the vague and contradictory statements of Vasari. He married in 1501 Girolama, the daughter of Guido Spaccioli, rose to be chief magistrate of his native place, and died in 1523, generally regretted as a most amiable, courteous and upright man.‡

The earliest known work by *Timoteo Viti*, executed after he had left *Francia*'s studio, is a tempera picture in a very damaged condition preserved in the Brera. It represents the Virgin and Child between SS. Crescentius and Vitalis, with a boy Angel playing on the viol seated at her feet (see illustration). As might be expected, this picture shows the influence and the teaching of the school whence its author came—that of *Lorenzo Costa* § and *Francia*. But there are evidences in it of his own individuality which give it a character so similar to the early works of *Raphael* that it long passed as a production of that master, although it is described by Vasari as an early work of *Timoteo Viti*, painted immediately after his return to Urbino in 1495‖—a statement which has been confirmed by documentary evidence. The graceful movement of the figures, with their heads slightly inclined on one side—as especially noticeable in the

* See ante, p. 347.

† In *Francia*'s diary is the following entry: "1495, a di 4 Aprile e partito il mio caro Timoteo, che Dio li dia ogni bene e fortuna.

‡ 'Elogio Storico di Timoteo Viti,' by Pungileone, a work, however, of little authority.

§ In the angel with the musical instrument he imitated *Costa*.

‖ Sansoni's Vasari, vol. iv., p. 494.

beautiful representation of St. Vitalis—which he derived from *Costa*, the sentiment shown in the expressions, the arrangement of the draperies, and the "*assai vaga maniera*," as Vasari calls it, so vividly recall the early works of *Raphael* that it is scarcely surprising that, before the days of searching criticism, this altar-piece should have been ascribed to that great painter. Vasari himself points out the resemblance between the works of the two, but suggests that it arose from *Timoteo Viti* having seen some pictures by *Raphael* which had been sent to Bologna—a supposition which is utterly opposed to all chronological facts.* *Raphael* was, when the Brera picture was painted, a mere boy, between twelve and thirteen years old, and could not possibly have produced works which could have influenced a painter already formed, and his senior by some fifteen years.†

The same feeling and character, which may be termed Raphaelesque although they belong entirely to *Timoteo Viti*, appear in a beautiful figure of St. Margaret in the collection of Signor Morelli (Milan)—the chained Dragon at her feet closely resembling that in an early picture by *Raphael* in the Louvre, the St. George (No. 369); in a similar figure of St. Apollonia, unfortunately much damaged, painted for the principal altar of the church of the S. Trinità at Urbino, and now in the municipal Gallery of that city;‡ in an altar-piece in the sacristy of the Cathedral there, painted in 1504, with SS. Thomas of Villanova and Martin, and Bishop Arrivabene (for whom the picture was painted) with Duke Guidobaldo II. kneeling beneath, and a landscape background in which is seen the city of Mantua; and in the fine altar-piece in the Brera, painted about 1503, also mentioned by Vasari, representing the Immaculate Conception—an Angel floating in the air indicating the Holy Spirit to the Virgin who is standing between the Baptist

* Pictures by *Raphael* did not reach Bologna until after the first decade of the sixteenth century.

† In this picture *Timoteo Viti* employed gold for ornamental details. *Raphael* did the same in one of his early works, the St. Michael in the Louvre, painted probably in 1499.

‡ According to Vasari this picture was painted about the same time as the altar-piece in the Brera, described in the text.

THE MAGDALEN. a picture by Titian in the Bologna Gallery.

and St. Sebastian—a picture which recalls *Timoteo*'s master *Francia*.*

To a somewhat later period (1508—1509) belongs the Magdalen in the Bologna Gallery—a dainty girl, with her head inclined towards her left shoulder, a red cloak falling to her feet, and her long golden hair flowing over her shoulders, "so beautifully and truthfully painted," says Vasari, "that it seems to be moved by the wind" (see illustration). To this lovely figure *Timoteo Viti* has imparted a grace and refinement, combined with a naïve and touching sentiment, worthy of *Raphael* himself.

A picture of still later date—between 1510 and 1512—by the master, is a signed altar-piece at Cagli, near Urbino, much repainted in parts, representing the Magdalen stretching her hands towards the arisen Saviour, and St. Anthony and the Archangel Michael trampling on the dragon. It is of the same so-called Raphaelesque character.†

Works by *Timoteo Viti* are rare. Probably more than one in public and private galleries pass under the names of *Raphael* and *Francia*, and of other masters. The two in the Berlin Gallery, doubtfully attributed to him—a Virgin and Child and Saints, and a St. Jerome—are not by his hand. The first may be by *Luca Longhi* of Ravenna. Drawings by *Timoteo* in several collections are assigned to *Raphael*. Finally, Signor Morelli attributes to him the designs on seventeen majolica plates in the Correr Museum at Venice, probably from the manufacture of Castel Durante near Urbino (see illustration), where he is known to have executed frescoes. These designs represent various mythological subjects, such as the fable of Orpheus, treated with a Raphaelesque sentiment and grace. In the latter part of his life *Timoteo Viti* fell, like some of his contemporaries, under the pernicious influence of *Girolamo Genga*.

The remarkable resemblance in character between the early works of *Raphael* and those of *Timoteo Viti*, coupled with the

* The head of the Madonna would be called "Raphaelesque,"—as it resembles such as *Raphael* would have produced when supposed to be under the influence of *Perugino*.

† It is signed "TIMOTHEI . D . VITE . VRBINAT . OPVS."

statements of Vasari, have led most writers on Italian art to assume that *Timoteo* when already 50 years of age became the pupil of *Raphael*, and his assistant in works, such as the frescoes which the latter executed at Rome in the church of S. Maria della Pace. But the assumption is now disproved by chronological evidence, and there are good reasons for believing that it was, on the contrary, *Raphael* who, as a boy, was the scholar of his much older fellow-citizen. Vasari, in this case, as in many others, either misled by his informants or from some unexplained motive, has related as facts a series of fables, and has fallen into various contradictions.*

Bartolommeo Ramenghi, called *Bagnacavallo* from the place of his birth, was another painter who owed his art education to the school of *Francia*, and who may be consequently classed among the Bolognese. He appears to have gone early to Rome, where he studied the works of *Raphael*, and still more those of *Dosso Dossi*, returning afterwards to Bologna. The influence of the latter master is observable in a fine altar-piece in the church of the Misericordia in that city, representing the Virgin and Child, crowned by two Angels, and SS. Francis and Monica, and the donor with his wife and daughter—excellent portraits of very refined expression. In this work the landscape is altogether in the manner of *Dosso*, whilst the Madonna is Raphaelesque. A Virgin in glory and four male Saints in the Dresden Gallery, which bears *Bagnacavallo*'s name, is a very grand work, also recalling *Dosso*; as does another large altar-piece by him with several saints in the Berlin Museum, in which the pupil of *Francia* is easily to be recognised, particularly in the expression of the heads. The 'Circumcision' in the Louvre is a weak and crowded composition, in which he appears as a mere imitator of *Raphael*. In S. Maria della Pace at Rome are colossal figures of a Prophet and a Saint in armour, in fresco, by his hand, somewhat artificial in the treatment of the forms. *Bagnacavallo* displays

* In this notice of *Timoteo Viti* we have followed Signor Morelli ('Italian Masters in German Galleries'). He has been the first to assign to this painter his true place in the history of art, and to point out his relation to *Raphael*. To his able and, to us, convincing arguments on this subject we must refer our readers.

a steady aim at grandeur and freedom of conception, while the foundation of simplicity of representation which he acquired in *Francia*'s school preserved him from the scattered and affected manner of *Raphael*'s scholars. He was deficient, however, in that inward power necessary to animate the grand forms he selected, and his works convey the impression of conventional imitations of *Francia*, *Raphael*, and *Dosso*. *Biagio Pupini* was his assistant in Rome, and in his later works in Bologna.

Innocenzo Francucci da Imola also learnt the painter's art from *Francia*.* After he had left his master's school he went to Florence, where he is said to have placed himself under *Mariotto Albertinelli*. But he soon fell under the influence of *Raphael*, like so many of his contemporaries, and repeated whole figures from that master in his own compositions, probably deriving them from the engravings of *Marc' Antonio*. Traces, moreover, of the principal Florentine painters of his day, such as *Fra Bartolommeo*, *Buggiardini*, and others, may be seen in his works. As a colourist, he is sometimes weak and insipid, at others too bright and raw and wanting in harmony, as in an altar-piece of the marriage of St. Catherine, in the church of S. Giacomo Maggiore (Bologna). In the public gallery of the same city there is a large picture, formerly in the church of S. Michele in Bosco, in which he has introduced a poor repetition of the Archangel Michael by *Raphael*, injudiciously placed in juxta-position with two saints standing in tranquil attitudes. Hovering beside the Madonna are angels also copied from *Raphael*'s 'Disputa.' A well-painted Holy Family, transferred to the gallery of Bologna from the church of the Corpus Domini, is a more important work; the composition is full of life, and sufficiently resembles *Raphael*'s style. One of his best pictures is in the cathedral of Faenza. The Berlin Museum also contains a graceful picture by *Innocenzo*; but in this instance again the Madonna enthroned on clouds is an imitation of *Raphael*'s 'Madonna di Foligno.' The expression of the Saints below is thoughtful and noble.

* For this painter see 'P. Giordani Sulle Pitture d' Innocenzo Francucci da Imola.' Milano, 1849.

His small Madonnas and Holy Families are not unfrequent in galleries; they are, in general, easily recognised by the Roman style of composition and the *Francia*-like expression of the heads. Two are in the Borghese Palace, Rome.

To these painters may be added *Girolamo Marchesi da Cotignola*, who commenced his career as a pupil of his fellow-townsmen, the brothers *Francesco* and *Bernardino Zaganelli*, and afterwards passed under the influence of *Francia*. Of his early manner, there is a signed picture—an 'Entombment'—in the gallery at Pesth, and the Coronation of the Virgin, with Angels and two Saints, in the Berlin Museum—a picture of constrained arrangement, but of great sweetness in the heads. Later in his life *Marchesi* went to Rome, and adopted the style then prevalent there, coming under the influence of *Raphael*, from whose drawings, and under whose personal superintendance it is conjectured he may have painted in the Loggie. One of his best pictures is in the Bologna Gallery, representing a Holy Family and SS. Francis of Assisi and Bernardino of Siena; but it is a crowded composition, and defective in drawing. A Madonna, with kneeling monks, excellently painted, with admirable heads, is in the Berlin Museum. The 'Christ bearing the Cross' in the Louvre, signed by him, and dated (? 1520) is of considerable power, and the picture attributed to *Raphael*, in the same collection, known as the 'Vierge au voile,' has been ascribed to *Marchesi*. By his brother, *Bernardino Zaganelli*, there is a signed panel, representing St. Sebastian, in the National Gallery, which formed part of the only known work by him. It is of small merit.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE LOMBARD SCHOOL.

A SCHOOL of North Italy, not less distinguished than those of Verona and Padua, and characterised like them by a strong individuality which was gradually developed until it

attained its higher stage in the early part of the sixteenth century, was the Lombard. In it may be included all those painters who were born or flourished in the Milanese territory, comprising Milan, Pavia, Cremona, Vercelli, &c., although local pretensions and municipal vanity may claim for each of these places a separate and distinct school. As in other parts of Italy, workmen, rather than artists, following the traditional models and principles which had spread throughout the Peninsula in consequence of the impulse given to art by *Giotto* were, no doubt, employed in the Lombard plains in the decoration of churches and other public edifices. The names of a few of them have been preserved, such as *Polidoro Casella*, *Michelino*, the *Zavattari*, the portrait-painter *Zanotto Bugatto*, *Costantino da Vaprio*, *Leonardo Ponzoni*, and others; but of their works little or nothing remains which can be confidently assigned to them. Such vestiges as survive show generally a very low stage of taste and knowledge. Fragments of wall paintings on the vaulted ceiling of the cathedral at Cremona are believed to be by *Casella*, and may have been painted in 1345. They are rude and coarse in execution, but are curious as regards costume. It is conjectured that *Michelino*, who lived in the last half of the fourteenth century, was the author of some frescoes in a room on the ground-floor of the Borromeo Palace, Milan, representing groups of ladies playing at various games, also more interesting for the costumes of the period than for their merit as works of art. He was noted as a painter of animals, and a book of studies of such subjects by him is recorded to have belonged to the Vendramin family at Venice.* A later Milanese, of whom only one work has survived, and that in Naples, bore the name of *Leonardo da Besozzo*. It consists of paintings in the octagon monumental chapel of Sergiani Carracciolo (seneschal and lover of the younger Queen Joanna) in the church of S. Giovanni a Carbonara, built in 1433, which are authenticated by an inscription with the name and origin of the painter. Above the entrance door is seen, on a

* 'Anonimo,' ed. Frizzoni, p. 221.

colossal scale, Christ crowning the Virgin, both enfolded in the arms of the First Person of the Trinity, and surrounded with angels. Below, to the left, are several members of the Carracciolo family, and next the door, the portrait of the seneschal naked, as he was found after his murder. Other parts of the chapel contain scenes from the life of the Virgin, an 'Annunciation,' and several figures of Saints. The style is essentially Giottesque; but the form and expression of the heads is sweeter, especially those of the angels, which recall *Fra Angelico*. The portraits are individual in character; the arrangement of the whole simple and grand.

Bonifazio Bembo, called *Faccio da Valdarno*, whose name appears as early as 1455, served, at Milan and Pavia, Duke Francesco Sforza, who favoured painters and other artists. At the duke's death he removed to Cremona, where he executed full-length portraits of Francesco and his widow Bianca Sforza, in fresco, in the church of S. Agostino—still existing, but so entirely repainted that little or nothing remains of the original work.* *Bembo* died in 1496. Another painter who enjoyed the same patronage was *Cristoforo Moretti* of Cremona, by whom there is a signed picture of the Virgin in private possession at Milan.†

The painter who exercised the greatest influence in the Lombard school, and who holds the same place in it as *Liberale* in that of Verona, *Squarcione* or *Mantegna* in that of Padua, and *Cosimo Tura* in that of Ferrara, was *Vincenzo Foppa* "*il Vecchio*" (the elder), as he is usually called, to distinguish him from another of the same name—his son or relative. He was an artist of great and original powers such as are required in the founder of a school. He was born at Brescia, and styles himself "Brixiensis" on his pictures. The date of his birth is not known. It is probable that he studied under *Squarcione*. At any rate, he imbibed the taste for the introduction of classic architecture and ornaments into his works, which was spread through the schools of North Italy by the teachings of that painter. His special

* See 'Notizie Pittoriche Cremonesi raccolte da Federigo Sacchi,' p. 157.

† It once formed part of the collection of Count Pol[illegible] Pezzoli.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST SEBASTIAN: a picture by Vincenzo Foppa, in the Brera, Milan

characteristics are excessive energy in expression, sometimes carried to the verge of grotesqueness, a vigorous conception of his subject, correct and masterly outline, and a fondness for architectural details—qualities which have led to drawings by him being frequently attributed to *Mantegna*, who was much his junior in years. *Foppa* was established in 1456, when probably still young, in Milan, where he executed wall-paintings for Cosimo de' Medici and Francesco Sforza, which have perished. Two signed pictures by him of this date—Christ on the Cross, and a St. Jerome scourging himself—are in the public gallery at Bergamo. Some of his best works are to be seen at Milan. In the Archæological Museum of the Brera, a fresco by him representing the Virgin and Child under an arch, and two angels, is a beautiful work; clear and brilliant in colour, excellent in expression, and rich in architectural details of a classic character. In the Brera picture gallery, part of a fresco representing the martyrdom of St. Sebastian (see illustration), is equally remarkable for its fine colouring, original treatment and powerful rendering of expression and form. In the same collection are the six compartments of an altar-piece by him, attributed in the catalogue to *Zenale* (Nos. from 76 to 81), including the Virgin and Child, with two angels and figures of saints, all very grand in treatment. In the Milan Municipal Museum is a striking and very characteristic Madonna and Child by *Foppa*, in tempera, the colour of which is, however, somewhat dark and cold, probably the effect of age and of injudicious restoration. An important work by the master is an altar-piece, in many compartments, commissioned by Pope Julius II. when Bishop of Savona, and still in the cathedral of that town. The Adoration of the Kings, in the National Gallery (No. 729), attributed to *Bramantino*, is by *Foppa*. It has lost much of its original character by restoration. We see in it the hand of a master still working after the manner of the "quattro-centisti," with embossed ornaments in gilt stucco; but in the arrangement of his subject, and in the individuality of the heads, giving it a character especially his own. *Foppa* died in 1492.

Floriano Ferramola was a scholar and imitator of *Foppa*,

whose only claim to notice is that of having been the master of *Moretto*. He is a cold and disagreeable colourist. There are frescoes by him in the church of S. Giulio at Brescia, and frescoes and a picture, signed, in the church of S. Maria at Lovere. A Virgin and Child in the Poldi-Pezzoli Gallery (Milan), attributed to *Foppa*, is by *Ferramola*.

Out of the school founded in Lombardy by the elder *Foppa* came more than one celebrated painter, among them *Bartolommeo Suardi* of Milan, *Ambrogio da Fossano*, *Vincenzo Civerchio* of Crema, *Bernardino de' Conti* of Pavia, and others of less distinction.

Bartolommeo Suardi was born about 1450. After learning the rudiments of his art in the school of *Foppa*, he placed himself under the great architect and painter *Bramante*, whence he acquired the name of *Bramantino*, by which he is commonly known. After *Leonardo da Vinci* quitted Milan in 1499, it was *Bramantino* who exercised the greatest influence over the rising generation of artists there, and among them *Luini* and *Gaudenzio Ferrari*. He is one of those painters who mark the transition from the conventionalism of the fifteenth century to the realism of the early part of the sixteenth. His works are of unequal merit. In some he almost rises to the height of *Mantegna* in the vigour of his drawing, in the strong individuality of his character, and in the statuesque and classic treatment of his figures and of drapery. In others, he shows himself somewhat weak and uninteresting. As a colourist he is usually bright and pleasing, and original in his scale and combination of tones. He may generally be recognised by the abundant and wavy hair of his figures, and their peculiar and sometimes fantastic head-dresses, in which he was imitated by *Gaudenzio Ferrari*, his pupil, and by a habit, especially in his frescoes, of so disposing of the light and shade as to make it appear that the light comes from below. One of the best and most characteristic of his works is a small picture representing the Adoration of the Magi—equally original in treatment and colour—in the possession of the Editor (see illustration). It was formerly in the Manfrin Gallery (Venice) where it passed for a work by *Mantegna*. The successful

attempts at perspective in the architecture, and in the various objects introduced in the foreground, may have been derived from *Pietro della Francesca* through *Bramante*. One of his larger works, the Madonna enthroned, with two angels, in the Brera, is distinguished by an extremely soft modeling and by the clear colour of the nudes. The expression of the Virgin is rather strange and yet attractive, with the light reflected, according to his habit, from below. In the same collection, a fresco representing St. Martin dividing his cloak with a beggar (No. 9), shows the influence of *Foppa*, his first master. Several other frescoes in the same gallery by *Bramantino* are attributed to *Luini*, showing how much this great painter derived from him. Among them may be mentioned the 'Sacrifice to the God Pan,' an interesting composition with a warm, transparent and harmonious colouring. In the Archæological Museum of the Brera are several frescoes by *Bramantino*, such as a 'Noli me tangere,' worthy of notice. An altar-piece, in three compartments, in the Ambrosian Library, in his last manner, exhibits free and beautiful drawing, combined with many peculiarities. Two frescoes in chiaroscuro in the cloisters of S. Maria delle Grazie, are fine examples of his style. Another work by him, also in Milan, a 'Dead Christ mourned by the Maries,' is celebrated for a feat of foreshortening. It is over the door of the church of S. Sepolcro, but is so obscured by the glass and grating placed over it for protection that without their removal no part of it can be thoroughly examined. The foreshortening of the body of the Dead Saviour —the feet being nearest the eye—is very successful, and was probably the origin of many a similar picture, known as the 'Miraculous Entombment,' from the extraordinary illusion produced. A 'Flight into Egypt,' in the church of the Madonna del Sasso, at Locarno, is signed by him. The background is full of incidents.

About 1506 *Bramantino* was called to Rome, probably by his former master *Bramante*, and was employed with other painters in the decoration in fresco of the apartments of the Vatican. A document exists proving that in 1508 he was painting with *Bazzi* in the Stanza della Segnatura in that

edifice. The works he executed there were destroyed by order of Pope Julius II. to make room for *Raphael*. He returned to Milan, and a document in the possession of Count Melzi proves that in 1526, when in advanced years, he was in the service of Francesco Sforza II. as engineer-in-chief. He probably died about this time.

Ambrogio da Fossano, better known as *Ambrogio Borgognone*, who also came from the school of *Foppa*, was as original a painter as *Bramantino*, but his genius took an entirely different direction, and his works have a character entirely their own. He was born at Milan between 1450 and 1460, his family having come originally from Fossano, a small Piedmontese town. He appears to have been a man of a deeply pious nature, and his works are so exclusively religious that he has been called the *Fra Angelico* of the Lombard school. His countenances are peculiarly soft and devotional, with gentle eyelids, and his Madonnas are of an individual, but very beautiful, type. In his early works his colouring, especially in the flesh tints, is pale and delicate, in some instances of silvery grey scarcely exceeding chiaroscuro; in his later, it is richer and more naturalistic. He appears in his youth to have been in some way connected with the Certosa of Pavia, where numerous frescoes by him in the church and chapels and refectory are still preserved, many of which are creations of a high order, and bear witness to a length of years spent in that locality. His masterpiece (1494–95)—Christ bearing the Cross, followed by Carthusian monks—in the academy of fine arts at Pavia, was painted for that religious community. In this fine picture he has represented, in the background, the façade of the church of the Certosa in course of construction. He was also employed in making the drawings for the beautiful stalls and choir door in that edifice, which were finished by the Mantuan *Bartolommeo de' Polli* in the year 1490. Among his principal works, in his first or silvery manner, may be mentioned an altar-piece in the Ambrosian Library, with the Virgin and Child and saints and angels, and a kneeling figure of the donor; that in the National Gallery, with the Marriage of S. Catherine of Siena, remarkable for

the grace and elegance of the female figures and its deeply religious character; the Enthroned Virgin and Child, in the Berlin Gallery; four beautiful predella pictures in the church of the Incoronata at Lodi, which have much of the sweetness of *Leonardo da Vinci* and *Luini*; and a triptych in the National Gallery, with the Virgin and Child enthroned, in the centre, and the Agony in the Garden on one ..., and the Redeemer bearing His Cross on the other. In his second manner are a very fine altar-piece, in numerous compartments, in the church of S. Spirito (Bergamo), painted in 1508; a St. Rock in the 'Congregazione di Carità' Milan), inscribed, though probably not by himself, 'Ambrosii ecognoni pinsit,'—the head of the Saint fine with much pression; and a St. Martha in the collection of Signor elli,—one of a series of saints, remarkable for refined ment and for depth and richness of colour.

Borgognone decorated various churches in Milan with frescoes, which have for the most part perished; but the 'Coronation of the Virgin' in the semidome of S. Simpliciano in that city, still remains as a specimen of his graceful but somewhat passionless action, which has led to his being compared with *Pietro Perugino*. The backgrounds in his pictures show a fine feeling for nature and minute finish. He died in 1523, having had among his pupils the most delightful and sympathetic painter of the purely Lombard school, *Bernardino Luini*.

The works of *Borgognone* are not rare, but those of two very inferior painters, his brother *Bernardino*, and *Giovanni Ambrogio Bevilacqua* frequently pass for them. They both imitated his colouring and style, but are without difficulty distinguished from him by their weakness in both. To the former, Signor Morelli attributes the fragments of frescoes, and the nine panels with saints, in the church of S. Maria della Passione (Milan), which, however, may have been executed upon cartoons furnished by *Borgognone*. There are signed pictures by him in existence.* To *Bevilacqua* the same authority ascribes the tempera picture in the Dresden Gallery,

* One in Milan, formerly in the possession of the late Signor Enrico Andreossi, representing S. Rock, dated 1523.

representing the Madonna praying before the Infant Christ, with the Eternal in a glory of Angels above.* Other works by *Bevilacqua*, generally passing under the name of *Borgognone*, are found in several collections in Lombardy, and in the Brera, where there is a signed picture by him, dated 1502—a Virgin and Child enthroned, and two Saints and a donor.

Vincenzo Civerchio, who was born at Crema, but became an honorary citizen of Brescia where he usually laboured, appears to have remained with the elder *Foppa* until the death, in 1493, of the latter, whose pictures, left uncompleted, he finished. He lived to a great age, dying in 1544. In his early manner he was an imitator of his master, his somewhat heavy colouring and angular folds, but with his striking individuality—as in an Annunciation in a collection of Signor Morelli. Altar-pieces signed by him and dated respectively 1495 and 1504, are in the Pinacoteca and in the church of S. Alessandro at Brescia. Of his latest works, one, dated 1537, is at Lovere, and a second, dated 1539, in the church of S. Giovanni at Lecco.

Bernardino Buttinone, who also came out of the school of *Foppa*, was a very indifferent painter. His name inscribed upon a picture in the Borromean Palace on the Lago Maggiore is a forgery, as already stated,† the picture belonging to an entirely different school. There is a triptych by him in the Brera, dated 1484,‡ inscribed with his name, with the addition of "de Trivilio," of which town he consequently appears to have been a native. It represents the Virgin and Child with an angel in the centre panel, and SS. Bernardino and Leonardo on the wings. It is a work of little merit.

Of *Bernardo Zenale*, who appears to have been a fellow-pupil with *Buttinone* in the studio of *Foppa*, little is known. The two appear to have executed together some frescoes in the Griffi chapel in the church of S. Pietro in Gessate, at Milan, to which their joint signatures are affixed; but it

* See 'Italian Masters,' &c., p. 199.

† Ante p. 281.

‡ In the Catalogue, 1454, but this is an error.

would be difficult to apportion to each his share.* The large picture, in numerous compartments, with much gilding, behind the choir in the cathedral at Treviglio, is also their joint production; but the greater part of it seems to be by *Buttinone*. It is a feeble and uninteresting work. The fine altar-piece in the Brera assigned to *Zenale*, is probably, by *Bernardino de' Conti*; and the Virgin and Child, transferred from the Ambrosian Library to the Municipal Museum, (Milan) formerly ascribed to him, is now given to *Foppa*, whose manner, it would thus appear, *Zenale* closely imitated. Works by the master recorded to have existed in the convent of S. Maria delle Grazie, and in the church of S. Francesco, (Milan), and in various edifices at Brescia have perished. He was employed as an architect, and in the latter years of his life gave his preference to this art. He died in 1526.

Bernardino de' Conti (*de Comitibus*) was born at Pavia, and probably received his first artistic education in the school of *Foppa*, or of *Civerchio*. His later works show the influence of *Leonardo da Vinci*; but that of *Foppa* is still traceable in them, especially in the gray flesh tints, and justifies his being placed among the followers of that master. A fine portrait by him of a Bishop, in the Berlin Museum, bears his name, and the date of 1499. A Madonna and Child in the Poldi-Pezzoli Collection (Milan); the Virgin nursing the Child, in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg; and a portrait of a lady in the possession of Alfred Morrison, Esq., in London, once ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci, are, there is every reason to believe, by him.† But his masterpiece is the great picture in the Brera, formerly attributed to *Zenale*, representing the Virgin and Child enthroned, the four fathers of the church, and the kneeling figures of Lodovico il Moro and his wife Beatrice with their children (see illustration). This is a grand and imposing work, executed with great vigour in his characteristic gray tints. The portraits have a life-like individuality, and the execution of the details is most careful. Drawings by *Bernardino de'*

* These frescoes were covered in the last century with whitewash, in removal of which they suffered the most serious damage.

† Vol. iii. p. 422, &c.

Conti in collections are frequently ascribed to *Leonardo da Vinci*, as, in the Ambrosiana, the study of the profile of the young Maximilian Sforza kneeling by his father's side in the above-mentioned picture in the Brera.*

Among other Lombard painters who appear to belong to the school of *Foppa*, the following may be mentioned: *Giovanni Donato da Montorfano*, the author of the great Crucifixion, in the Refectory of S. Maria delle Grazie at Milan (1495), where *Leonardo da Vinci* executed his immortal Last Supper, after trying his new material by painting the portraits of the Sforza family on *Montorfano*'s fresco. He was a painter of some ability who worked after the Flemish fashion, using gilding and embossed ornaments. *Macrino d'Alba*, properly called *Giangiacomo Fava*, by whom there are pictures in the Turin Gallery, at Alba, in the church at Asti, and in the Certosa of Pavia, and a triptych in the Städel Institute, Frankfort—a Virgin and the histories of the SS. Joachim and Anna—dignified and full of character, and four half figures of Saints in the National Gallery. *Pier Francesco Sacchi*, principally known by a picture in the Louvre representing the four fathers of the Church with carefully modeled heads, dated 1516, and by a Crucifixion in the Berlin Museum, dated 1514. By his pupil *Cesare Magni*, there is a picture in the collection of Sir F. Cook at Richmond. And lastly *Lorenzo* and *Bernardino Fasolo*. All these painters "are nothing but imitators, who had well got up the technic of their profession, and were able to produce works agreeable to the eye because of their pleasing harmony of colours, but which leave the mind and heart untouched. Moreover, their figures all possess more or less a lack of gracefulness of expression, attitude, and movement."†

At the same period, about 1500, Lodi produced its painters *Martino* and *Albertino Piazza*, supposed to be sons of one *Bernardino*, also a painter, of whom, however, no works are known to exist. They are representatives of the highest form of development of the older Lombard school. In the representation of severe yet heartfelt character, a knowledge

* Morelli, p. 425. † Id., p. 412.

of the nude, in grandeur of drapery, and in a true feeling for nature in their landscape backgrounds, they exhibit that approach to the perfection of art which is scarcely exceeded by *Perugino*, *Costa*, and *Francia*. *Martino Piazza* was under the influence of *Borgognone*, and was more conventional in his works than his younger brother *Albertino*, who was thoroughly Lombardesque. Their principal and conjointly executed works are, at Lodi, an altar-piece in the church of the S. Incoronata, and a second, in many compartments, in the church of S. Agnese, with a Madonna of almost Raphaelesque beauty and grace; and in the church of the S. Incoronata at Castiglione, near Lodi, another altar-piece in which, especially in the lower series of pictures, scarcely anything is left to be desired in point of correct and beautiful drawing. By *Martino Piazza* alone, and inscribed with his monogram, are a 'St. John the Baptist,' in the National Gallery, powerful in colour, and with a fine mountainous landscape in the background, and an 'Adoration of the Kings,' in the Ambrosian Library, in which the landscape is also especially remarkable. By *Albertino* alone there are, at Bergamo, a 'Marriage of St. Catherine,' in the public gallery (there attributed to the "Roman school"), and an 'Adoration of the Shepherds,' in the collection of Signor Frizzoni-Salis at Bergamo. *Martino* left a son known as *Calisto da Lodi*, whom we shall have to mention hereafter as a scholar of *Romanino*.

Giovanni Massone, who may also be classed among the Lombard painters, probably lived in his native town of Alessandria and at Savona, working in the latter place in the second half of the fifteenth century. There is a picture in three parts by him in the Louvre—a Nativity—of little merit or interest.

A more vigorous and able master was *Filippo Mazzola* of Parma, called "*delle Erbette*," a contemporary painter, in whom we find an approach to the manner of the old Lombard school. He went to Venice when young to perfect himself in his art under *Giovanni Bellini* and *Antonello da Messina*. Two pictures by him are in the museum at Naples—a Dead Christ in the lap of a nun, with other nuns around, and a Madonna with two Saints. But he was chiefly remarkable

for his portraits, which show the influence of *Antonello*, and may generally be recognised by their green backgrounds. An excellent one in the Brera bears his signature. Others are in the Doria Gallery, Rome, (also signed), in the Borromeo collection at Milan, and in the Berlin Gallery, doubtfully attributed to *Beltraffio*. Others again under his name, or assigned to other painters, may be found in various collections. He was living in 1505.

Francesco and *Filippo Tacconi* were citizens of Cremona, employed conjointly in 1464 in decorating the Loggia in the Palazzo Pubblico in that town with frescoes, which have been covered with whitewash within this century. Remains of paintings in tempera by *Francesco* are still seen on the shutters of the organ of S. Mark's at Venice. A signed picture by him in the National Gallery—a Virgin and Child—has a Bellinesque character, and shows him to have been but a poor artist. *Antonio della Corna* a native of Cremona or Pavia, was a feeble painter from the school of *Mantegna*. An unattractive picture by him, inscribed with his name and the date of 1478, is in the Bignami collection at Cremona. Another Cremonese painter of the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, was *Galeazzo Rivelli*, known as "*della Barba*," by whom there is a picture of three saints in the public gallery of Bergamo.

We may here mention another Cremonese painter, *Boccaccio Boccaccino*, who unites in his pictures the Lombard and Venetian influences, and emerges into distinction by the comparative excellence of his works. He is believed to have been born in 1460, and to have died after 1524. He is a painter of very distinct individuality, and may be easily recognised by the peculiar type and expression of his figures, and especially by his women, who generally have much grace and beauty. One of his characteristics is a light gray eye with a dark rim. His pictures are usually gay in colour, and he is fond of introducing into them rich velvet draperies in somewhat sharp and angular folds, with carefully executed and elegant details and embroideries. His landscape backgrounds are for the most part pleasing and poetically conceived. One of his best works is the Marriage of St.

Catherine, in the Venice Academy, signed with his name, a very attractive picture, which combines his characteristic qualities (see illustration). The Virgin and Child enthroned, with Saints, an altar-piece in the church of S. Giuliano (Venice), is in a broader manner, and a very pleasing but much injured work. From 1506 to 1518 he was employed in decorating with frescoes the walls of the cathedral of Cremona, his native city. The series, high up on the left side of the nave, represents the history of the Virgin—pleasing and careful compositions in his Venetian manner. The best is Christ disputing with the Doctors.* The design for the 'Sposalizio' is partly borrowed from *Pietro Perugino*. His works under different names are found in many galleries. Three fine heads by him—'Christ disputing with the Doctors'—in the Venice Academy are given to the school of *Leonardo da Vinci*. A picture, also by him, in the same gallery, representing Christ washing the feet of His disciples, dated 1500, was formerly attributed to *Leonardo* himself, and is now ascribed to *Perugino*. That assigned to him in the National Gallery—the 'Procession to Calvary'—is not characteristic of his manner, and is probably by another hand. An altar-piece representing the Annunciation—a good example of the Master—belongs to the Senator Prinetti at Milan.

Boccaccio's brother *Bartolommeo* imitated his style, and probably assisted him in some of his works.† His son *Camillo*, on the other hand, abandoned his father's manner and imitated *Pordenone*, as shown by a picture by him in the Brera representing the Virgin and Child appearing to four saints. He died in 1546. Among *Boccaccio Boccaccino*'s pupils and followers were the Cremonese *Galeazzo Campi*, and *Tommaso Aleni*, by whom signed works of a very feeble character may be seen in Cremona.

About the year 1484 *Leonardo da Vinci* came to Milan. This pre-eminent genius exercised an extraordinary influence over the Lombard school of painting, which then divided

* Copied for the Arundel Society.

† Signor Morelli ('Italian Masters,' &c., p. 66) suggests that he may be the author of the 'Saviour of the World,' No. 1202, in the Munich Gallery.

itself into two parts; one becoming directly dependent upon him, whilst the other, retaining to a great extent the characteristics of the school, was only indirectly influenced by him.* We shall treat of those two branches, and of the eminent painters they respectively produced, in the next chapter.

Before quitting the school of Upper Italy we must mention the names of a few artists connected with Modena and Parma, but who are not of sufficient importance to be considered as the founders of schools, and who do not appear to have exercised any influence on Italian painting. It was not until the first half of the sixteenth century that *Coreggio* gave an impulse to the art, and may be said to have founded a school in the latter city. We shall refer to him and his followers hereafter.

Thomasius de Mutina, or *Tommaso da Modena*, is, by the fact of his signature, pronounced to be a Modenese belonging to the fourteenth century. He is a second-rate painter, with all the defects of his time. A picture, in six parts, in the gallery of Modena is so damaged and over-painted that little opinion can be formed of it. In 1357 *Tommaso* went to Prague, where he was employed by the Emperor Charles IV. to decorate the castle of Carlstein. Two pictures on panel, still in the chapel of the castle—one a much-injured "Ecce Homo," with a number of small figures in the frame—are by his hand. A Virgin and Child between SS. Wenceslaus and Palmasius—half-length figures, with a curious inscription including his name—is now in the picture gallery at Vienna.† To this same *Tommaso da Modena* may be ascribed, with much probability, a picture in the altar recess of the chapel of St. Catherine at Carlstein—the Madonna between an Emperor and Empress—a picture of great sweetness, especially as regards the principal figure. A very carefully executed "Vera Icon," of mild expression, in the cathedral of Prague, is also considered the work of this painter.

Another Modenese artist, *Barnaba da Modena*, was contemporary with *Tommaso*. A half-length, 'Virgin and Child,' figures even uglier than those usually attributed to *Cimabue*,

* Morelli, p. 411. † D'Agincourt, p. 133, fig. 1.

is in the Städel Institute, Frankfort, inscribed "Barnabas de Mutina, 1367." It has blue half-tints and remarkable lights in the flesh, apparently projecting from violence of gradation like excrescences, in this respect contrasting with the flatness of early works. Another inscribed work by him—a Virgin and Child—is in the Berlin Museum. He is believed to have lived a great part of his life in Piedmont. There is an altar-piece by him in the sacristy of the church of S. Francesco, and another, signed, in the public gallery, at Pisa, both representing the Virgin and Child, and very rude works.*

Serafino de' Serafini, also of Modena, was even a weaker artist than the foregoing. His name and period, 1385, are fixed by an inscription on a 'Coronation of the Virgin' in the Cathedral of Modena.

In Parma, the walls of the Baptistery are covered with rude productions, to which the names of *Niccolò da Reggio* and *Bartolino da Piacenza* are attached; and in Piacenza itself there are wall-paintings, and a picture in eight compartments in the church of S. Antonio, which are assigned to the latter painter. But there appears to have been no school of painting in either of those cities.

CHAPTER XV.

THE LOMBARD SCHOOL (CONTINUED)—LEONARDO DA VINCI AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

THE various elements of art which had gradually been developed in distinct styles and schools throughout Italy were at the beginning of the sixteenth century, rapidly attaining maturity. By this time all the mechanical impediments to the free exercise of pictorial feeling and knowledge, with which the great forerunners we have been describing had had to contend, were well-nigh overcome. Their successors received a rich inheritance, and possessed the

* See for specimens of *Tommaso* and *Barnaba* of Modena D'Agincourt, p. 133.

power to develop it to the utmost limits of human perfection. Still, it is not in one place, or mainly in one individual, that this climax is found to centre. The temples of Art in Italy continued to be distinct, and the columns which supported them various; but each quality of art, by whomsoever represented—whether form, expression, colour, modeling, or such Titanic power for which Art has no technical name, as in the person of *Michael Angelo* — stands now before us full-grown. It would be vain to inquire into the causes which led to that marvellous energy of æsthetic life which Italy witnessed in her principal cities, and which, from its rising to its setting, occupied little more than two centuries and a half, and has never risen again. The flame of art is kindled by materials which we equally fail to define, or, consciously, to supply. A sensuous form of religion a worldly-wise ecclesiastical hierarchy, a beautiful climate, and grand and lovely forms in man and Nature, are all powerful auxiliaries in developing what is already created; but they all have existed without engendering art at all. The fire must descend from above. Without it the altars remain dark and cold. Once lighted by a great original mind there failed not others in the noble Italian race to feed, increase, and impart it. Nothing is more conspicuous in the history of the great generations we have endeavoured to trace than the way in which the sacred flame was passed from one hand to another, each contributing to give it further aliment and brilliancy. The imagination fails to conceive the splendour of that era when wall, ceiling, panel, and canvas spread forth their glories, fresh and luminous from the master's hand, still unharmed by time, and unscathed by the ignorance and barbarity which defaced all that it failed to destroy. Considering also the productiveness of those times, they have left us but a tithe of what they brought forth; still, the very fragments of the feast have been sufficient to create the laborious, subtle, and most fascinating science of the connoisseur.

But ever more and more splendid as was the course of Italian art as it soared towards its apogee, there is no greater fallacy than to interpret it as the sign of a parallel and

corresponding course of civilisation. As Art advanced in the Italian States, as new votaries gave birth to fresh varieties of its enchanting forms, all true civilisation—if we admit the only definition of that word to be respect for life and law, for truth and honour—as rapidly declined. One thing prominently taught us by the works of *Leonardo* and *Raphael*, of *Michael Angelo* and *Titian*, is distinctly this—that purity of morals, freedom of institutions, and sincerity of faith have nothing to do with excellence in art. At the same time it must be remembered that the splendidly gifted Italian race, debarred as they were from those higher careers of patriotism and enlightenment which demand liberty and security, sought and found for that very reason the more welcome expansion in the neutral domain of the arts. The artists' ranks were replenished, it may safely be said, by men who would have excelled in any sphere of intellectual liberty, and who, in the comparatively untrammelled field of art—for even here the vices and vanities of popes and princes tampered with the purer inscription of the artist—gave the utmost largeness, dignity, beauty, and feeling to all they touched. On the other hand, the very decline of faith and morals, while occasionally dictating subjects unworthy of representation, afforded greater liberty to the painter. The Roman Church, however alert to persecute the votaries of truth in the form of Science, had become indifferent to the higher uses of Art. It no longer sought to encourage art for the purposes of edification, but simply for those of pomp and ornament.

The classic mania also, which had arisen towards the close of the fifteenth century, further enlarged the painter's field. and has left more living and genuine fruits in that form than in any other. For the great artists of the day, unlike the race of literary men, were no mere imitators of the antique. Even in *Andrea Mantegna*, whose hand was inspired by the beauty of such classic remains as were found in his time, no trace is discoverable of any merely laborious efforts to restore a foregone period; none were needed by a race of artists who had studied and developed every detail and principle of art afresh. The great age of *Raphael*, recognising and practising as it did those immutable principles of Nature which

had guided the Greeks, may be said to have revived the spirit of the antique, but it did so without the slightest sacrifice of originality and independence. The profound laws which preside over æsthetic beauty remain unchangeable in all times and places; but their manifestations, if genuine, will, like the works of the Supreme Creator, vary with every different race and mind of man.

Thus, in the ruin of States and corruption of society, the arts alone pursued their upward way; and the fine taste of the 'cinque-cento,' which set its impress of grace and fitness on every object, may be said to have been the only expression of the human intellect which flourished in healthy perfection.

At the head of the mature period of Italian art is rightly placed *Leonardo da Vinci*, born 1452 at Vinci, a castellated village in the Val d' Arno: for though he preceded the other great luminaries of the 'cinque-cento' by a quarter of a century, yet his works alone, of all the painters we have mentioned, anticipated their standard of perfection. He it was who introduced that completeness of representation which Vasari designated as "la maniera moderna." *Leonardo* possessed an almost unparalleled combination of gifts, mental and physical. He had great personal beauty, and was endowed with the utmost activity. He was painter, sculptor, architect, engineer, and physiologist. He mastered the sciences indispensable to the highest development of these attainments—mathematics, perspective, mechanics, and anatomy, both of men and horses. He left writings on art * and on physical science, the latter anticipating the greatest discoveries of modern times.† He planned canals; he designed fortresses; he invented machines for swimming,

'Trattato della Pittura.' A great number of editions. The first appeared in Paris, 1651, with a Life of Leonardo, by Raphael Dufresne. The best is that of Rome, 1817; Gugl. Manzi. There are several French and German translations.

† 'Essai sur les Ouvrages physico-mathématiques de Leonardo da Vinci, avec les Fragmens tirés de ses Manuscrits apportés de l'Italie,' Paris, 1797. For the most complete collection of the works of *Leonardo* see Dr. Jean Paul Richter's 'The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci, compiled and edited from the Original Manuscripts.' 2 vols. 4to. London, 1883, and the reproduction of the *Leonardo*'s MSS. by M. Charles Ravaisson. Paris.

diving, and flying, a compass, an hygrometer, engines of war of various kinds, and automaton toys for the pastime of royal personages. He is said to have been a poet, although no verses by him are known, and he was an accomplished musician, inventing and making his own instruments. He excelled in all the manly exercises of the time; and while, as we have said, he stands first and highest in the ranks of the 'cinque-cento' masters, he also stands last and highest of that order of intellectual painters who, like the *Pollajuoli Pietro della Francesca* and *Mantegna*, combined the practice of art with the deepest research into its laws. *Leonardo*'s powers were too much for one man, or for the ordinary length of life; they trod on each other. With fewer gifts there would have been more results: with less ardour for science, more performance of art. His temperament also impeded his free course. He was fastidious, dreamy, impulsive, procrastinating, and ambitious of shining in society. He saw ever before him summits of perfection higher than mind or hand could attain. He left what was good and certain for experiments after what he felt would be better. He studied everything in turn with the utmost ardour, and he finished nothing he undertook. All people courted him, all crafts tempted him. Even in his art he was pulled in opposite directions—indeed in all directions. His ideal of our Lord's head is the loftiest that art has realised. His Apostles' heads are among the truest and noblest transcripts of Nature. He attained in the countenances of his Madonnas and Children an ineffable sweetness and pathos which breathe the very airs of heaven. At the same time he analysed the principles of all that is monstrous and misshapen in the human face; and in his caricatures, of the authenticity of which there is unhappily no doubt,* he seems to have gloated over forms of wanton hideousness, half human, half brute, and

* It must, however, be observed that a large number of the caricatures as well as other drawings, attributed to *Leonardo*, are spurious. It is known that he was left-handed. He wrote from right to left, and his writing, difficult under any circumstances to decipher, requires to be read reflected in a looking-glass. So in the shading in his drawings, the lines go almost invariably from left to right, following the natural motion of the left hand. Genuine drawings by him may thus be distinguished. This important fact was first pointed out, we believe, by Signor Morelli.

all traced with an exquisite line, from which we turn with repugnance.

The temperament of *Leonardo* may be recognised by the very processes of his art. He altered and retouched without ceasing. His chief aim seems to have been not so much to complete a work as to retain the power of correcting and improving it. Thus he added coat to coat and film to film, ever deferring the end of his labours, till a greater solidity and body of colour (*impasto*) gradually grew beneath his hand than any other painter, before him, has left. "*Leonardo*'s refined taste and fastidious habits may be traced in opposite effects—in untiring labour, and causeless dissatisfaction." * The wonder is not that he left so little, but that, under these circumstances, he should have left enough to establish the transcendent nature of his art. Indeed, there is nothing stranger in history than the fact of so great a reputation resting on so shattered and uncertain a basis—on one single work, long reduced to a shadow; on, at the most, half a dozen pictures, for which, or for parts of which, his hand is alternately claimed and denied; and on unfinished fragments which he himself condemned.

He was, properly speaking, the founder of the Italian process of oil-painting; but the sacrifices he made to establish that process, however obvious to those who study him, can never be entirely computed. His very experiments on the nature of oils and varnishes can only be considered as misuse of precious time, and misapplication of an unrivalled hand.

Leonardo is too universal to be included in any school. He has a refined and enthusiastic, and sometimes even exaggerated sentiment. And this sentiment, which was the leading characteristic of his friend and fellow-pupil, *Lorenzo di Credi*, he especially transmitted to his own pupils.†

* 'Materials for the History of Oil Painting,' by Sir C. L. Eastlake, vol. ii., p. 94.

† Signor Morelli ('Italian Masters,' &c., p. 124) remarks "when a nation's culture has reached its culminating point, we see everywhere, in daily life as well as in literature and art, that grace comes to be valued more than *character*. So it was in Italy during the closing decades of the fifteenth century, and the opening ones of the sixteenth. To no artist was it given to

Leonardo da Vinci was the natural son of one Piero,* a notary of Florence, by whom he was placed in the school of *Andrea Verocchio.* The choice of his master was fortunate, for *Verocchio,* or "the true eye," as his name shows, had a nature in sympathy with that of his great scholar.

It is commonly reported that *Leonardo*'s fellow-pupils learned more from him than from their master. But it is only reasonable and just to suppose that *Verocchio,* possessing profound knowledge both of the human figure and of drapery, must have exercised valuable influence over all who studied under him. In the absence of other specimens of *Verocchio*'s pictorial skill, the "Baptism" in the Florence Academy furnishes the only absolutely authentic example. This picture, dry and greatly injured as it is, has been made famous by the tradition that *Leonardo*'s youthful hand is first seen in the figure of the angel on the right of the Saviour—a figure, according to Vasari, so superior to the rest of the work, that *Verocchio* in mortification abjured all further practice of the brush. In the discredit which modern investigation has thrown on many a neat anecdote by Vasari, the circumstance that this particular figure is the most attractive part of the picture would hardly, damaged as it is, suffice to corroborate this story.† It is, however, a fact,

express this feeling so fully as to the great *Leonardo da Vinci,* perhaps the most richly gifted man that Nature ever made. He was the first who tried to express the smile of inward happiness, the sweetness of the soul. In part, however. this aim could only be attained by a more subtle comprehension of pictorial modeling, that is, of chiaroscuro; hence it was that Leonardo devoted to that study the best hours of his lengthened sojourn at Milan."

* Piero, who was descended from a long line of notaries, married four wives. and had eleven legitimate children, nine of whom were sons. *Leonardo,* however, appears to have been legitimatised, and to have been educated on the same level with his brothers. He was twenty four years older than the eldest of them, who was born in 1476 (see genealogical tree of the Vinci family, Sansoni's Vasari, vol. iv., p. 54).

† See woodcut, p. 178. Documentary evidence proves that *Leonardo* remained in *Verocchio*'s workshop until 1476, and he may consequently have been more than twenty years of age when he painted the angel in his master's picture. Moreover, *Verocchio,* instead of abandoning his art in disgust as stated by Vasari, continued to practice it until 1476, probably some years after the picture in question was painted. See Milanesi's note, Sansoni's Vasari, vol. iv., p. 22, and see notice of *Verocchio,* ante p. 178.

that the technical execution of this angel differs somewhat from that of the rest, although the drawing is, no doubt, by *Verocchio*. This work long remained forgotten in a church at Vallombrosa, and was only brought to light in 1812.

The early period of *Leonardo*'s activity at Florence has not been accounted for. While many a work by his school has been attributed to his hand, it is now thought that various early works by himself have been classed among those of his school. As far as can now be judged, a love of the fantastic and monstrous, a predilection for the practice of caricature, and a delight in the rendering of animals, natural and unnatural, characterised the period of his youth. The story of the 'Rotella di fico,' or the circular piece of fig-wood on which he painted a monster made up of various animals —toads, lizards, serpents, bats, &c.—belongs to his early years.* This no longer exists; but the Medusa head in the Uffizi, a work of the seventeenth century, which may possibly point to an original by *Leonardo*, remains as an analogous specimen.

Two cartoons are also described as belonging to this time —the one representing the Fall, with Adam and Eve in a meadow, surrounded with animals, executed for the King of Portugal, and known to have been in the possession of Ottaviano de' Medici in the middle of the sixteenth century; the other showing Neptune on his car drawn through a stormy sea by marine horses. Both have disappeared.†

In this absence of materials for history, it is impossible to assign dates to the early course of this great man. It can only be assumed that by the time (1485‡) he was summoned to

* A 'Study of Serpents and Dragons,' by *Leonardo*, was in the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence.

† There is a drawing for the Neptune by *Leonardo* in the Royal collection at Windsor.

‡ We have adopted this date from Signor Morelli ('Italian Masters,' p. 91), in preference to that of 1480 assigned to *Leonardo*'s departure from Florence in the previous editions of this work. According to Dr. Richter, *Leonardo* was not at Milan before 1487—having left Florence in 1482; where he was residing and what doing in the interval is not certain. Among his MSS. are the drafts of letters addressed to the Musulman Governor of Syria under the Sultan of Egypt, in which he speaks of himself as being in the Mountains of Armenia (Cilicia) and engaged in

the court of Lodovico Sforza, called "Il Moro," who usurped the Milanese crown, *Leonardo* was already master of all those arts of war and peace—mines, military bridges, and engines both for land and water, architecture, hydraulics, works in marble, bronze, and clay, and, lastly, painting—in the practice of which he professes, in a letter extant to Lodovico, "to be on a level with any other man, be he whom he may." Much wasted time, however, may be ascribed to the various court festivities for which the inventive hand of the master furnished designs, models, and scenery, which vanished with the occasion. A strangely evil star presided over all he undertook, partly owing to the disturbed history of Milan itself, partly to the nature of his own temperament. His Milanese period was distinguished by two great works—one belonging to the province of sculpture, the other to that of painting—namely, the model for the equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza, and the great painting of the Last Supper.* That two such feats in different forms of art should have proceeded from the same hand is sufficiently extraordinary; more so still that they should have been carried on simultaneously. According to a contemporary writer,† he would leave the Corte Vecchia, where he was modeling the colossal horse, and hasten, in the heat of a July day, to the convent of S. Maria delle Grazie, and there, mounting the scaffold, apply a few touches to the Last Supper. He is believed to have brought his model for the horse to a conclusion towards 1489. At that time it met with a mysterious end. The story that Lodovico insisted on its figuring in a procession at the marriage of his unhappy nephew Gian Galeazzo, when it was broken into pieces, bears small probability on its face. This would hardly account for the necessity of entirely

engineering works there. It is, therefore, conjectured that during this time he was in the service of the Sultan as an engineer, and that he had even become a convert to Islam, with the feasts of which he appears to have been acquainted. See Dr. Richter's 'Literary Works of Leonardo,' vol. 2, pp. 387–394.

* *Leonardo* appears to have been also engaged on works connected with the Duomo at Milan—his name being found in the list of the artists connected with that edifice. ('Annali della Fabrica del Duomo di Milano,' 1880—viii, p. 88, &c.)

† Novelle del Bandello,' part i. p. 363.

recommencing the composition, though it may have given so fastidious a master an excuse for so doing. At all events, it is known, under his own handwriting, that *Leonardo* began a fresh model on the 23rd of April, 1490. This was twenty-three feet high, and would have required two hundred thousand pounds of metal to cast it. It is believed not to have been cast;* and in 1499, on the occupation of Milan by Louis XII., it was made a target for French archers, but still existed in 1501, after which time there is no record of it. Studies for it by his hand, in slight pen lines, survive in Her Majesty's collection at Windsor. An engraving exists, believed to be by the master, containing four designs for an equestrian statue, two of them with a prostrate enemy beneath. There is also a miniature in the National Library at Paris believed to represent the design.†

However careful and protracted the preparations for the execution of the 'Last Supper,' the picture itself is believed to have been completed in two years. The seeds for its rapid decay were sown by *Leonardo* himself. The regular processes of fresco would have required too much decision in execution for so fastidious and dilatory a hand: and this reason is supposed to have tempted him to prepare the surface of the wall so as to admit of that use of oil which lent itself to his peculiar practice. The treacherous nature of this method was further aggravated by a low position of the building, which exposed it to frequent inundations. In short, while other examples of wall-painting a century and a half earlier, were still comparatively fresh and uninjured, this unparalleled work, which seems to have been created only to perish, was fast going through a process of disintegration, and by the time it was fifty years old was considered little better than a ruin.‡ Francis I., in 1515, is reported

* See for statement that it was cast, 'Michel Ange, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael,' par Charles Clement, p. 204.

† For various designs for this equestrian statue see Richter's 'Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci,' vol. ii.

‡ The following explanation may be given of the cause of the decay of *Leonardo*'s 'Last Supper.' He wished to try a new material for wall-painting, as he was much given to altering his work, never being satisfied with it, and to finishing it in minute detail—fresco requiring rapid and decisive execution and not admitting of alterations, additions and retouchings. He

to have seriously investigated the possibility of carrying it off to Paris. It is doubtful, however, whether any precautions could have rescued it; and the only mode of preservation took the form of numerous copies. In 1612 the Cardinal Federigo Borromeo ordered a copy to be made, assisted by a cartoon of the master still existing in the Ambrosian Library. By 1652, however, two centuries after the birth of *Leonardo*, according to the wont of the Roman Church towards its great painters, so little respect either for him or his work survived, that the monks cut a door in the wall through the feet of the principal figure, and in so doing shook down much of the lower part of the work. Finally, in the next century, two successive restorations defaced what time had spared; and, lastly, the French soldiers, in 1796, turned the refectory into a magazine for hay, and a stable for cavalry horses.

Yet, for all this, the spirit of *Leonardo* is not utterly extinguished in the work. A soul still lingers in that bruised and battered body, which no maltreatment has yet expelled. Wreck as it is, there is still something in it which leaves an impression stronger than that conveyed by almost any other work of art. This is partly owing to the knowledge of the composition possessed by almost every intelligent spectator, and which, on first sight, fills up the blanks in the great

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first tried an experiment by painting the portraits of Lodovico il Moro, with his eldest son Maximilian, and of Beatrice Sforza, his wife, with his youngest son Francesco, on the great fresco of the Crucifixion executed by *Montorfano* in 1495 in the Refectory of the Convent of S. Maria delle Grazie. He used dry "stucco lucido" for his ground, instead of the "intonaco," or wet lime plaster, required for fresco, and painted upon it in oil. He was thus able to work at leisure, and to finish with all the care that he considered necessary. He was satisfied with the result, and employed the same process for his 'Last Supper.' Whilst *Montorfano*'s fresco is still perfectly preserved, *Leonardo*'s portraits added to it have perished, leaving only the outlines which he drew upon the "stucco." The same fate has befallen the 'Last Supper.' The pigments not having been absorbed into the dry "stucco" ground, as they would have been into the wet "intonaco," have gradually crumbled away. Heat has contributed to the decay, and dryness—not damp—has hastened it. The 'Last Supper' has been repainted three times, and not a fragment remains of the original work of *Leonardo*'s hand, which in some parts has even been changed—things not in his design having been added. The composition alone can be said to be his.

original. The eye rests on the master's *intention*, and the grandeur of that still takes us by surprise. No human work, neither that of the painter nor the poet, is so widely known as the 'Last Supper.' Copies, principally in the form of engravings, are scattered over the whole of the civilised world, and are to be found in the palace and the cottage wherever the Christian religion extends.

The composition of the scene is such as to appear perfectly inartificial. It departs from the traditional arrangement by placing Judas among the rest of the disciples, instead of alone, opposite to them. Thus, no one turns his back on the spectator, and the heads, hands, and feet are seen without any undue artifice. We give the names of the individual disciples, this information being often desired, and not readily supplied.* They serve also to show the truth of character preserved in the persons of those disciples especially described in Scripture. The words of Christ, "One of ye shall betray me," have set the whole table in commotion. The figures may be divided into two groups of three each, on each side, right and left, of Christ. On the right are St. John, Judas, and Peter; St. John clasping his hands, and leaning backwards in sorrow. This permits Peter to reach impetuously forward, past Judas, and grasp John's shoulder, asking him earnestly, though evidently in low tones, who is the traitor. This sudden movement has thrown Judas into an agitation which consciousness of guilt would otherwise have concealed; and he starts round to look at St. Peter, with a mixture of audacity and terror, turning his profile. In his confusion he upsets the salt, thus embodying a popular superstition betokening misfortune, while his right hand approaches the dish, standing before Christ, suggesting the text, "whose hand is with me in the dish." The next three figures are St. Andrew, St. James Minor, and St. Bartholo-

* The identification of each figure could never have been gleaned unassisted from the work. Doubtless the key to it was familiar to the public during *Leonardo*'s life, and for many years after. Fortunately an early copy of 1565 exists in fresco at Fonte Capriona, where the names are inscribed. A sketch for the composition by *Leonardo* himself in the Venice Academy has the name of each Apostle written over his head. See Richter's 'Literary Works of Leonardo,' vol. i., p. 336, for a facsimile of it.

mew. St. Andrew, an elderly and strongly-marked head, lifts both hands in astonishment. St. James Minor, in whose profile a likeness to Christ, related as they were, is supposed to be given,* binds the chain of figures together by reaching his hand in turn on to Peter's shoulder, also seeking information. Bartholomew, who comes last on the right hand of Christ, has risen on his feet, leaning forward on both hands over the table, as if to catch the words of Christ.

On the left hand of the Lord the first figure is St. James Major, who starts back in horror with extended arms and open lips. St. Thomas is seen behind, the forefinger of his right hand raised, a common gesture of menace, directed at Judas. In strong contrast to both is St. Philip, a beautiful young head, anticipating the ineffable sweetness of Correggio. He has risen on his feet, and, with his hands on his breast leans towards his Master, protesting his love and innocence. In this head lies the quintessence of *Leonardo*'s power over grace and expression. The three remaining are SS. Matthew, Thaddeus, and Simon. They are speaking together. St. Matthew turns eagerly to his companions, with both his hands stretched towards our Lord, thereby connecting this group with the last-mentioned. St. Thaddeus whispers to Simon the name he suspects; his hands, at the same time, conveying a natural gesture of conviction. Lastly, St. Simon, the oldest of the twelve, sits with great dignity, thoughtful and distressed, with grandly upraised hands. Our Lord's head bears no description; but in the action of His hands, which are miracles of fine drawing, a meaning, both natural and symbolical, is conveyed; the palm of the one open, raised, and inviting — the other gently and pathetically averted on the side of the traitor. † The simplicity and symmetry of the background, and the truthful details of the table, all contribute to the reality of the scene.‡

* Bossi, 'Cenacolo,' p. 102.

† It must be remembered that nothing remains of the original heads by *Leonardo*, and that the expressions of the various actors in the scene described in the text are consequently but imitations by an incompetent restorer of the work.

‡ At the time of Goethe's visit to Italy, 1810, the hall was again used as a refectory, the tables of the monks and the Prior being raised on a step,

The copies of the 'Last Supper,' in various forms, are numerous. They begin as early as 1500, by the hands of his scholars. The best is believed to be that in oil, on the same scale as the original, by *Marco d' Oggiono*, formerly in the Certosa, near Pavia, now belonging to the Royal Academy. Many are lost, among them the one likely to have best represented the master—namely, that by *Bernardino Luini*, executed for Francis I. A large number, however, still survive in various forms—fresco, oil, cartoon, water-colour, mosaic, and even, as presented by Francis I. to the Pope, in tapestry and in silver. A mosaic, executed under the superintendence of Bossi for Eugène Beauharnais, when Viceroy of Italy, is in a church at Vienna. There have been many attempts, aided by these materials, worthily to restore *Leonardo*'s composition, and Raphael Morghen is known to have consulted not only the original but every accessible copy in the production of his engraving.

Cartoons by *Leonardo* of the heads of the Apostles—the size of the picture—in black and red chalk, slightly drawn, formerly in the Ambrosian Library, later in the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence, are now in that of the Grand Ducal family at Weimar. The drawing of Christ's head in the Brera, attributed to *Leonardo*, is an inferior production.*

along three sides of the square, the fourth side being open to the great work. Goethe adds with fine discrimination, "And here the wisdom of the painter is seen, in adopting the tables in use for his model. No doubt the table-cloth also, with its sharp folds and striped pattern, came from the linen-press of the convent; and plates, dishes, glasses, &c., were the same the monks used. There was therefore no thought of restoring an uncertain ancient costume. Highly awkward also would it have been to spread the figures out upon cushions. No, the holy party were to be drawn into the then living Present. Christ was to hold His last supper among His brethren, the Dominican monks at Milan."—Goethe's review of Bossi's 'Cenacolo,' 1810. It was the custom in Italy to have frescoes, or large paintings, of the Last Supper, or of the Marriage of Cana, and similar subjects at the end of the refectories of Convents—forming, as it were, a continuation of the tables at which the monks were seated at their meals.

* It is very doubtful whether the heads of the Apostles mentioned in the text are the original cartoons. They are in pairs, and if used would have been separated. They are more probably copies of or studies for the originals. The Christ's head in the Brera may have been an original cartoon; but it has been so much retouched—the outline having been gone over with black chalk—that very little remains of *Leonardo*'s work. See Richter's 'Literary Works of Leonardo,' vol. i. p. 335.

Finally, it may be said that the 'Last Supper' is the only production by the master which is free from that vein of peculiarity which, chiefly in the shape of fantastic and impossible backgrounds, detracts from the charm of his other works. That alone addresses itself, with utmost unity of perfection, to the eye for truth of nature, to the taste for beauty of composition, to the sympathy for intensity of expression.

It has been suggested, as we have said, that pictures attributed to *Leonardo da Vinci*'s scholars may be the production of his own youthful hand. Still, the progress of connoisseurship has transferred more works from *Leonardo* to his school than *vice versâ*.

The best known of *Leonardo*'s easel-pictures is the so-called 'Vierge aux Rochers,' of which there are two examples —one formerly, there is reason to believe, in the church of S. Francesco, Milan, acquired, in 1880, by the National Gallery from the Earl of Suffolk, the other, differing from it in several respects, supposed to have been in the collection of Francis I., and now in the Louvre. Which of the two is the original, whether they are "replicas" by the master himself, and which is the most deserving of admiration are moot questions among critics and connoisseurs. Early, if not contemporary, copies of the composition exist in the Ambrosian Library (Milan) and in the Museum at Naples. Both correspond with the picture in the National Gallery, and not with that in the Louvre. The heads in both may be by the master's hand, whilst the execution of the background—the dismal, dark cavern and stalactite forms—may have been left to assistants. *Leonardo* is seen in his full grace and intensity in the expression of the Virgin and two children, and in the angel who supports the Infant Christ and looks full at the spectator.* The strong modeling of light and shade from almost white lights to black shadows, with every grade of tone between, is characteristic of the master's manner. To the gray half-tones thus produced he was the first to give the new technical term of "sfumato" (smoky).

* In the Louvre picture the angel points to the Infant Baptist, as if indicating him to the Child.

The miseries and disturbances of the Milanese State at the end of the fifteenth century account for *Leonardo*'s removal to Florence, where he was welcomed with honour by Pietro Soderini, the Gonfaloniere. Here the humility of *Filippino Lippi* ceded to him a commission for an altar-piece of the church of the Servi, which *Leonardo* coveted and undertook. After great delay, caused by a plurality of projects of various kinds—for digging a canal between Florence and Pisa, for raising the entire building of the Baptistery by machinery of his invention, &c.—which engaged his mind, he at length produced the cartoon of the promised picture, which set all Florence in excitement. For two days it was publicly seen by eager crowds. The work—a Virgin and St. Anne, with the Infant Christ—however, proceeded no further. This cartoon, of exquisite beauty, and one of the most precious of the productions of the painter that have been preserved to us, is now in the Royal Academy.*

In 1502 *Leonardo* applied his services in a very different line, being engaged by Cesar Borgia as his chief architect and military engineer. He returned to Florence in 1503, where a commission to contribute a subject from the history of the State for the Great Council Chamber in the Palazzo Vecchio, awaited him. This is the hall for which also *Michael Angelo* designed a cartoon. *Leonardo* selected the victory of the Florentines, under the Patriarch of Aquileia, at Anghiari, over Niccolò Piccinino, General of Filippo Visconti; and *Michael Angelo* a scene from the Pisan campaign. Both cartoons excited in turn the utmost enthusiasm,

* Parts of this drawing (for example, the lower portion of the figure of the Infant Christ) have either been effaced by time, or were originally left unfinished. This cartoon which had long been shamefully neglected, is now kept under glass. Many surmises have been made by writers on art regarding this work by *Leonardo*. It appears, however, that Vasari's description of the composition corresponds only with the drawing in the Royal Academy. Hence the best connoisseurs have concluded that this is the cartoon which was so celebrated in Florence. See Dr. Waagen, 'Kunstwerke in Paris,' p. 426. M. Reiset and Signor Frizzoni ('L' Arte Italiana nella Galleria Nazionale di Londra,' p. 17), nevertheless, doubt whether this is the cartoon described by Vasari. The composition, with the addition of St. Joseph, was copied by *Luini* in a picture in the Ambrosiana, (Milan).

and gave a fresh impulse to the youthful artists of the day. *Leonardo*'s work, both cartoon and painting, partook of the evil destiny which, not unaccountably, presided over all he did. He repeated the same process so fatal to the 'Last Supper,' only apparently with still fewer precautions. He painted in oil on so defective a ground that the surface gave way under his own hand, and the work, for which he had already received a considerable sum, was finally abandoned. The cartoon has disappeared, and of the composition nothing remains but a sketch by *Rubens* (see woodcut), from which *Edelinck*'s engraving called 'The Battle of the Standard' was taken. It shows a composition of a masterly character, but, like the copy from *Mantegna*'s 'Triumph of Cæsar' in the National Gallery, it was evidently greatly Rubenized in its transmission through the mind of the great Flemish painter.* This is only a part of the subject, and it is probable that many episodes were introduced to which *Leonardo* alludes in his 'Tratrato della Pittura.' †

Another unfinished work, executed in Florence, is the large canvas of the Adoration of the Kings, in the Uffizi, of which the composition is little more than laid in. It is a work which exhibits the original mind as well as the experimentalising habits of the master.‡

On the other hand, the portrait of Mona Lisa, wife of Francesco del Giocondo, now in the Louvre,—called "La Joconde"—is one of the most highly finished works of art existing. The colours of the head are flown, but the hands, which are exquisitely formed, retain their freshness. The lady is believed to have sat during a period of four years. The picture in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, called 'La Colombine,' supposed to be the same lady, in an almost

* A sketch of the 'Battle of the Standard' is in the Palazzo Angri di Doria at Naples, and was once at Genoa. It is not impossibly the original of the free copy by *Rubens*, engraved by *Edelinck*. The painted sketch in question is much later than *Leonardo*, and is not remarkable for skill of execution.

† Cap. lxvii.: "Come si deve figurare una battaglia."

‡ This unfinished work evidently influenced *Raphael* in the same subject for the tapestries of the Sistine Chapel. A figure of one of the attendants holding his chin is entirely taken from it. See 'Leonardo da Vinci-Album von. G. F. Waagen.'

undraped state, and attributed to *Leonardo*, is by a scholar.* A fine cartoon in black chalk of the subject by him is in the possession of the Duke d'Aumale.

A St. Jerome, the head highly finished, formerly in the Fesch collection, since then in the Vatican Gallery at Rome, is by the master. A study of a female head of great charm, in little more than chiaroscuro, in the Parma Gallery attributed to him is more probably by a scholar.

The Academy at Milan founded by Lodovico il Moro was entrusted to the management of *Leonardo*. He had a large school, and the numerous repetitions of his known works, as well as the many Leonardesque pictures which bear his name, are evidences of the zeal with which his designs, or even mere thoughts, were carried out. *Bazzi* and *Luini* imbibed much of his peculiar sweetness and refinement, and their works, as we shall see, have in many instances been classed under the name of *Leonardo*.

Leonardo was invited to the Court of Francis I. in 1516, and ended his days in 1519 at Cloux, near Amboise. The story of his having expired in the arms of the king is now exploded.† No authentic portrait of the master exists. That in the Uffizi, which is his accepted likeness, is by some unknown artist of the middle of the 16th century. It represents a man of noble and dignified countenance, with an ample flowing beard—such as we might conceive this great painter to have been.

A notice like this can give but a one-sided idea of this extraordinary man, who is perhaps the most remarkable exponent of the times in which he lived. His observation of external nature and of her more hidden laws and forces was equally close, ardent, and original. His social gifts and worldly qualities were irresistible, while, as to the higher

* See 'Gemälde Sammlung in der Kaiserlichen Ermitage zu St. Petersburg,' von Dr. G. F. Waagen, 1864, p. 35. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle ascribe this picture to *Solario*: 'North Italy,' vol. ii., p. 58.

† *Leonardo* was buried in the choir of the church of S. Florentine at Amboise which no longer exists. Excavations made on its site by M. Arsène Houssaye led to the discovery of fragments of an inscription, with the name of the painter, and of a skeleton which is supposed to be that of the great master. The family from which he was descended still exists. See Genealogical Tree in Sansoni's Vasari, vol. iv., p. 54.

ST. ANNA AND THE VIRGIN AND INFANT CHRIST

by Leonardo da Vinci in the Louvre.

springs of action, he seems to have been morally indifferent as to whether he talked and laughed, played and sung, painted and modeled, designed engines for the benefit of all time, or invented toys for the amusement of an evening, in the service of friend or foe, compatriot or foreigner. Of few men could so much that is psychologically interesting be said, and of few men of note is so little known.

We may here mention some works which are ascribed to *Leonardo*, but which are more probably by his scholars or imitators, or taken from his cartoons. Such is the Madonna seated on the lap of St. Anna, with the Infant Christ and Lamb before her, in the Louvre (see woodcut), which possibly may be in part by the hand of the master, and is certainly taken from a cartoon by him.* It is, however, a work of infinite charm. The changed position of the Virgin is a graceful rendering of a traditional subject seen in early wood-sculpture in Germany and elsewhere. Of two other pictures, also in the Louvre, one, the St. John the Baptist, is by an imitator—perhaps *Salaino;* the other, the portrait of a lady, believed to be Lucrezia Crivelli, and known as "La belle Ferronière," is attributed by Signor Morelli to *Bernardino de' Conti*, a painter of whom we have already spoken. The 'Vierge au bas-relief,'—so-called from the small sculptured stone in the corner—in the possession of Lord Monson, and of which there are "replicas," or copies, in the Brera and in the Hermitage, is undoubtedly by a pupil, and has been assigned to *Boltraffio* and to *Cesare da Sesto*. The 'Leda,' sometimes called 'Charity,' belonging to Prince Frederick of Holland, at the Hague, is probably by *Bazzi*. The small picture of the Madonna giving the breast to the Child, formerly in the Casa Litta (Milan), and now in the Hermitage, is also ascribed by Signor Morelli to *Bernardino de' Conti*.† The beautiful but greatly repainted fresco of the Virgin and Child, with a kneeling donor, in the church of S. Onofrio at Rome,‡ is now believed to be by *Boltraffio*,

* The composition is similar to that of the cartoon in the Royal Academy.

† 'Italian Masters,' &c., p. 423.

‡ Published in chromolithography by the Arundel Society.

who is known to have accompanied *Leonardo* to that city. Of two exquisite heads in the Ambrosian Library (Milan), one, conjectured to be the portrait of Galeazzo Sforza, is that of an unknown person by an unknown hand; the other is probably by *Ambrogio Preda*, or *de' Predis*, and is not, as supposed, the portrait of Isabella of Aragon, but that of Bianca Maria Sforza, the wife of the Emperor Maximilian. The small picture in the Dresden Gallery, a Virgin and Child, called an early work by *Leonardo*, and sold in London to the directors of that gallery as one by his fellow-pupil *Lorenzo di Credi*, is now believed to be by some Flemish painter.* On the other hand, Signor Morelli was the first to identify an 'Annunciation,' in the Louvre, attributed in the catalogue to *Lorenzo di Credi* (No. 158), as an early work by *Leonardo*, executed between 1468 and 1470.†

We have already stated ‡ that at the end of the fifteenth century the Milanese, or Lombard, school divided itself into two branches—one of which was directly dependent upon *Leonardo da Vinci*, whilst the other was only indirectly influenced by him. This school was distinguished by a spirituality and purity of aim which contemporary Italian schools had greatly lost. Its works are chiefly to be studied at Milan, and especially in the Brera, where frescoes taken from the walls of suppressed churches and convents, as well as easel-pictures, by the masters belonging to it, form a highly interesting and instructive series. We will notice in the first place *Leonardo*'s direct pupils.

Giovanni Antonio Beltraffio, or *Boltraffio*, was born in 1467, and died in 1516. He was of a noble family, and considered himself rather an amateur than a professional painter. His pictures are often defective in drawing; but he has great charm of expression and colour, much refine-

* Signor Morelli ('Italian Masters,' &c., p. 206, &c.) enters into a critical examination of this picture, and pronounces, unhesitatingly, against its attribution to *Leonardo*.

† This little picture is of exquisite beauty. The modeling of the hands of the Virgin, the treatment of the drapery and their peculiar colour, are thoroughly Leonardesque.

‡ See p. 389.

ment, and a peculiar treatment of flesh, by which he is recognisable. They are also executed with the greatest industry, and he tried to come as near as possible to his great master. There is a grand figure of St. Barbara by him in the Berlin Gallery, almost his only large work, and in the National Gallery a Virgin and Child, Leonardesque in character from its broad treatment, vigorous colour, and strength of chiaroscuro. In the Louvre a Madonna and Child, with two kneeling donors and the Baptist and St. Sebastian, is a less pleasing example of the master. The general tone is not harmonious, and the expression of both Mother and Child is affected. To his hand may be attributed some of the twenty lovely half-figures of female martyrs, such as SS. Catherine, Agnes, Agatha, and Appolonia in the gallery of the choir of the church of S. Maurizio (Monastero Maggiore) at Milan, which may be classed among the most exquisite creations of the Milanese school. Those not by him were probably executed from his cartoons. In the collection of Lady Eastlake there is an interesting portrait of an unknown man in profile by *Boltraffio*, and works by him are not uncommon in private possession in Milan and the Milanese. In the Ambrosiana are some pastil portraits by him, almost life-size, under the name of *Leonardo da Vinci;* two, representing a man and his wife, are of extraordinary beauty.*

Of *Francesco Melzi*, who was the pupil and friend of *Leonardo da Vinci*, no authentic picture is known. It is even doubtful whether he followed the profession of an artist. He was of a noble Milanese family, which still exists, and if he occupied himself with painting it was probably as an amateur. Among the drawings ascribed to *Leonardo* in the Ambrosiana there is the profile of an elderly man, with an inscription giving the date of 14th August, 1510, and stating that it is a copy taken from a relief, by *Francesco Melzi* when seventeen years old. We may consequently presume that he was born in 1493. As this head is entirely Leonardesque in character, Signor

* Morelli, p. 428, note.

Morelli suggests that it may have been copied from a model in wax by *Leonardo*, who, he conjectures, made some of the corrections which are to be seen in the drawing. Neither the picture of Pomona and Vertumnus in the Berlin Gallery, the signature to which is a forgery, nor the fresco on a wall of the Castle of Vaprio, the seat of the Melzi family, attributed to *Melzi*, are by him. He accompanied *Leonardo* to France, and to him the master bequeathed his books, manuscripts, and drawings. He appears to have died about 1540.*

Marco d'Oggionno (b. 1470 – d. 1540) was placed under *Leonardo* as early as 1490, and was, therefore, one of the oldest of his scholars. He is a painter of no charm, and, though imitating the master in action, and even in entire figures, he shows the hardness and stiffness of a previous period. His colouring is cold but forcible, and his outlines decided. His frescoes in the Brera, taken from S. Maria della Pace, are not important and want repose. The three Archangels, in the same gallery, is, on the other hand, a favourable specimen of his manner. His works may be best studied at Milan—in the Brera, in private galleries, and in churches; among them may be mentioned a large altar-piece in six compartments, in the Bonomi collection. A Holy Family by him, in the National Gallery, although not an important, is a characteristic, example of his style. A similar subject in the Louvre, attributed to him, has been greatly injured by over-cleaning and repainting. One of his best works—the Infants Christ and St. John the Baptist kissing each other—is at Hampton Court, there ascribed to *Leonardo*. A 'Salvator Mundi' in the Borghese Gallery, by him is also attributed to his great master. He made several copies of *Leonardo*'s Last Supper—one already mentioned is in the Royal Academy; another, once in the Convent of Castellazzo near Milan, is now in the Brera; a third is in the Hermitage, (St. Petersburg.)

Andrea Sala, or familiarly *Salaino* (the little *Sala*), was the favourite pupil and attendant of *Leonardo*, whom he

* For a notice of *Melzi* see Signor Morelli's 'Italian Masters,' &c., pp. 431–435.

usually accompanied on his travels. He has more warmth of colour than *Marco d'Oggionno*. It is doubtful whether the picture of the Madonna and Child with SS. Peter and Paul in the Brera is rightly attributed to him. On the other hand, a 'St. John the Baptist' in the Louvre, ascribed to *Leonardo*, is believed to be his work. *Salaino* is hardly seen out of Italy. He was with his master at Rome.

Cesare da Sesto, called by Vasari *Cesare Milanese*, is believed to have died in 1524, about sixty-four years of age.* At a late period of his life he went to Rome and became the friend of *Raphael*. He was an eclectic painter, sometimes imitating that master, at others *Leonardo*, under whose names his works, such as a Judith in the Vienna Gallery, frequently pass. A Baptism of Christ by him, with a striking landscape by *Bernazzano*, a landscape-painter who often worked with *Cesare*, belongs to Duke Scotti at Milan. An altar-piece in several compartments, St. Roch in the centre, with the Virgin and Child in the clouds, in the Casa Melzi, also at Milan, shows his imitation of *Raphael*. The so-called 'Vierge aux Balances' in the Louvre, formerly attributed to *Leonardo*, is probably by *Cesare*.† It is not a pleasing picture, the expression of the Virgin being exaggerated in its affectation. In the Municipal Museum at Milan there are some fragments of fresco from the Convent of S. Antonio ascribed to him, which are of a more pleasing character and very Leonardesque. We have already mentioned ‡ that the Holy Family belonging to Lord Monson, ascribed to *Leonardo*, has been assigned to *Cesare da Sesto*. He is conjectured to have lived for a time at Messina, and one of his largest works, an 'Adoration of the Kings,' in the Naples Museum, came from a church in that city.

Cesare da Sesto appears to have left imitators, if not scholars, in the Neapolitan territory. Among them was *Andrea Sabbatini*, known as *Andrea da Salerno*, from his birthplace. He was probably born about 1480, and died in

* Neither the date of his birth nor of his death is known.

† See 'Analyse critique des Tableaux Italiens du Louvre,' par Otto Mündler. Paris, 1850, p. 114.

‡ Ante, p. 409.

1530. Art historians, relying upon the untrustworthy narrative of the Neapolitan writer De' Dominici, whose object it was to glorify the painters of his native city,* have assumed that after having received his early education in the so-called Neapolitan school, *Andrea* went to Rome, where he resided for some time with *Raphael*, and became his assistant in executing the works in the Vatican upon which that great master was then employed; but that family affairs recalled him to Naples in 1513, to the great regret of *Raphael*, who unwillingly parted with a pupil of so much ability. These statements are supported by no evidence whatever, and there is every reason to believe that they are entirely unfounded.† If the influence of *Raphael* is to be traced in *Andrea's* works, it was probably derived through *Cesare da Sesto*, with whom he was associated in Naples in decorating public buildings, such as a chapel in the church of S. Gaudenzio. An altar-piece in several compartments in the Convent of S. Trinità della Cava, near Salerno—recalling, in the Virgin and Child with Angels, *Raphael's* 'Madonna di Foligno'—long attributed to *Andrea Sabbatini*, is now known to be by *Cesare da Sesto*. *Andrea*, although careless and hasty in execution, was endowed with a spontaneous, lively, and facile mode of expressing his pictorial conceptions, which bespeaks his southern origin, and entitles him to the place assigned to him as the best of the Neapolitan painters. His earliest work is probably a 'Pietà' in the Cathedral of Salerno. A more important one, and of greater merit, is the 'Adoration of the Magi,' painted for the same cathedral, and now in the Museum at Naples—a highly finished work, evincing a noble and refined feeling, and distinguished by firm drawing, and light but warm colouring. In the same collection are two beautiful small pictures from the history of S. Placido, and one of similar character representing S. Niccolò of Bari, and three legends connected with him. In the church of S. Severino is one of the best works of the master—an

* Dominici. "Vite de' Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti Napolitani." Naples, various editions.

† See Frizzoni, 'Napoli ne' suoi rapporti coll' Arte del Rinascimento.' Florence, 1878, pp. 35, 36.

altar-piece in six parts, with the Virgin and Child and Saints, greatly neglected and injured, which again shows the influence of *Cesare da Sesto*. Other works by *Andrea* are to be found in churches in his native city and in other parts of the Neapolitan territory.*

Among his scholars and followers *Francesco Santafede* and his son *Fabrizio*, are favourably distinguished. Numerous specimens of their art, not altogether without merit, survive in Naples. *Giambernardo Lama*, a contemporary of *Andrea da Salerno*, belongs to the same class. These last-mentioned painters, whose style may be examined in the Naples Gallery, combine with a mannered but careful execution an unpretending simplicity and beauty seldom found in the middle of the sixteenth century. But Naples produced, as we have already stated, no school of Art, properly so-called. All her painters of importance were either foreigners or under foreign influence.

To return to the Lombard school. *Giovanni Pedrini*, or *Giampietrino*, as he is called in the Milanese dialect, whose name appears to have been *Pietro Rizzo*, or *Ricci*, is doubtfully supposed to have worked at Milan from 1493 to 1540. In the general similitude of the members of the school of *Leonardo* to each other and to their head, there is none who better imitates the dreamy expression, with an exaggeration of the gray and cold modelling of his master, than this painter. The Magdalen and female mythological figures, half-draped, are his favourite subjects, and his works are not rare. Among his best are a 'Nativity,' in the sacristy of the church of S. Sepolcro, and a 'Magdalen,' in the Municipal Museum, both at Milan, and a 'Christ bearing His Cross,' in the possession of the editor. His small pictures of the Holy Family—such as those in the Poldi-Pezzoli collection (Milan) and in the possession of Mr. John Murray (London)—are very attractive.

Of the less important pupils of *Leonardo* the following may be mentioned. *Niccolò Appiani*, by whom there is a picture in the sacristy of Sta. Maria delle Grazie, Milan,

* Signor Frizzoni has given a description of most of these works in his essay on Neapolitan art already quoted.

attributed to *Luini*, representing a Count Vimarcate, the founder of the church, kneeling before St. John the Baptist, his patron Saint—a work not without merit; *Francesco Napolitano*, seen in a picture in the Brera (No. 263 bis), and *Bernardino Fassolo* of Pavia. *Girolamo Aliprandi* of Messina (b. 1470 – d. 1524) was rather a scholar and follower of *Cesare da Sesto* than of *Leonardo*. A picture by him, representing Christ disputing with the Doctors, signed and dated 1512, painted for his native city, described by Lanzi in his history of Italian painting as a fine work, is affected and mannered.

Giovanni Bazzi, or *Sodoma*, must also be included among the pupils of *Leonardo;* but as he quitted Milan at an early period of his career, and abandoned his early manner under the influence of other schools, he will be noticed hereafter.

We now come to the Milanese and Lombard painters, who, without being actually the pupils of *Leonardo*, were indirectly influenced by him.

Ambrogio Preda, in Latin *de Predis*, is a painter of great ability, to whom attention was first called by Signor Morelli.* He appears to have been honoured by the powerful family of Sforza, and to have been a favourite of the Emperor Maximilian. The Ambraser collection at Vienna contains a good portrait in profile of that Emperor, signed 'Ambrosius de p̃dis (predis) m̃lanen (milanensis), 1502'—obscured by dirt, and the eyes and mouth partly repainted. The sketch for this portrait is in the Venice Academy under the name of *Leonardo;* and on the same sheet of paper, a sketch for the profile of Bianca Maria Sforza, Maximilian's second wife, and a study of an Infant Christ in the act of blessing, by the same hand. To *Ambrogio Preda* Signor Morelli also ascribes, as we have seen, a very beautiful profile portrait of the same noble lady, in the Ambrosiana, (Milan,) there erroneously called Beatrice Sforza, and attributed to *Leonardo*. It probably represents her as the affianced bride of the Emperor, therefore in the year 1493;

* 'Italian Masters in German Galleries,' p. 413, note 3.

and she wears the same necklace of pearls as in the sketch at Venice. A full-face portrait of a young man with long, light-brown hair, and wearing a white cap, by *Preda*, likewise at one time assigned to *Leonardo*, is in the possession of Signor Morelli himself. Probably many other works by this remarkable draughtsman and painter pass under the same name. He appears to have had a relative, perhaps his father, of the name of *Cristoforo*, a miniature painter of Modena, by whom there is a very fine miniature in the Royal Library at Turin, inscribed 'opus Xpofori de Predis,' with the date of 1474.

Of *Bernardino de' Conti* we have already spoken in our notice of the painters of Pavia.* *Andrea Solario*, or, as he frequently signs himself, *Andreas Mediolanensis*† (of Milan), was probably born about 1460. The family of Solari, which produced several architects and sculptors, came originally from Solaro, a village near the town of Saronno, in the neighbourhood of Milan, where they settled in the first half of the fifteenth century. Although *Andrea* was under the influence of *Leonardo*—and no Lombard comes so near to that great master in his works—his real instructor in his art has not been ascertained. He probably acquired the fine modeling of his heads, in which he surpasses all his contemporaries, from *Cristoforo*, his brother, known as '*il Gobbo*,' or the hunchback, a sculptor of renown. In 1490 he accompanied this brother to Venice, where he may have painted the magnificent portrait of a Venetian Senator, now in the National Gallery, in which the influence of *Giovanni Bellini*, to whom it was at one time attributed, and still more that of *Antonello da Messina*, may be traced. The two brothers returned to Milan in 1493. *Andrea*, notwithstanding the influence which the great Venetian painters may have exercised upon him, still retained in his art the refined Lombard character. Whether he went back to Venice to paint the altar-piece for the church of San Pietro Martire in the island of

* See p. 385.

† He thus signs himself on works which he executed when away from his native city. When they were painted at Milan he signs *Andreas de Solario*.

Murano, now in the Brera, representing the Virgin and Child and SS. Joseph and Jerome—inscribed with his name and dated 1495—has not been ascertained. The head of the Madonna is thoroughly Leonardesque.

The works of this remarkable painter, who possessed extraordinary qualities, may be specially studied in the Poldi-Pezzoli Gallery at Milan, in which an 'Ecce Homo,' of the most touching expression, is a splendid example of his power of modeling, and a small picture representing the Flight into Egypt of his matured period (1515*) is of exquisite beauty, with a charming landscape background which recalls, in its scale of colours, the landscapes of *Patinir*,† whose works he may possibly have seen in Flanders. A portrait in the Louvre, supposed to be that of Charles d'Amboise, the French Governor of the Milanese—with a view of the snow-capped Alps, as seen from Milan, in the background—long ascribed to *Leonardo*, is now rightly given to *Solario*. By him, also in the same Gallery, are the Madonna and Child, known as 'Le Coussin vert,' a specimen of his grace and beauty of tone, and of his power of expression; and a Crucifixion, dated 1503, with an elaborate landscape and full of graceful incidents, but over-cleaned and raw. In 1505 he painted the superb portrait of Giovanni Cristoforo Longono in the National Gallery, which, like his other pictures of this class, is executed with the exquisite finish and precision which characterise the best Lombard works. To the same category belong a fine portrait in the Brera, and two other portraits also at Milan—one in the collection of Duke Scotti, ascribed to *Leonardo*, and a second in that of Count Castelbarca, attributed to *Raphael*—both much disfigured by repainting.

In the middle of the year 1507 *Andrea Solario* was summoned by Cardinal George of Amboise to decorate with frescoes the chapel of the castle of that town—a work which *Leonardo* had been at first invited to undertake, but which he was forced to decline, being occupied with fortifications and

* This is the last date found on any picture by *Solario*.

† The same may be said of the landscape in his portrait of Cristoforo Longone in the National Gallery.

hydraulic labours at Milan. *Andrea* completed these frescoes in 1509. They perished in the French Revolution. Signor Morelli conjectures that after finishing the commission he had received from the Cardinal, *Andrea* may have visited Flanders, and points out that some of his later works, such as the 'Herodias' in the Picture Gallery at Vienna, and the 'Christ bearing the Cross' in the Borghese collection at Rome, have so pronounced a Flemish character, and recall so strongly the style of *Quintin Matsys* and his school, that they look at first sight like Flemish works.* He appears to have been again at Milan in 1515. His last picture, which he left unfinished, and which was completed or restored by *Bernardino Campi*, is the large altar-piece now in the sacristy of the Certosa, near Pavia. The date of his death is not known, but it is believed to be about 1520.†

Bernardino Luini, who holds perhaps the foremost rank among the Lombard painters indirectly influenced by *Leonardo*, was the son of Giovanni Lutero of Luino, a small town on the Lago Maggiore. It is doubtful whether he was born in the place whence he took his name, or at Milan. The date, too, of his birth is uncertain. Signor Morelli places it between 1475 and 1480 instead of 1470, the commonly accepted year. He was not, as is generally supposed, a pupil of *Leonardo*, but appears to have learnt the elements of his art from one *Scotto*, a painter of whom nothing is known, passing afterwards into the school of *Ambrogio Borgognone*, who may be considered as his real master. It was not until much later that he established himself at Milan, and was influenced by the works of *Leonardo*. Whether he ever saw the master himself is doubtful. His earliest known picture is the 'Pietà,' or Lamentation over the Dead Christ, in the choir of the church of S. Maria della Passione, Milan, painted before 1510, in which he shows himself a thorough Lombard under the influence of *Borgognone*, and even of *Bramantino*. The similarity of his early works to those of the latter painter leads to their being frequently confounded—

* 'Italian Masters,' &c., p. 68.

† See for *Solario* Morelli's 'Italian Masters,' &c; and Sansoni's 'Vasari,' vol. iv. pp. 120 and 121, notes.

as in the Brera, where frescoes by *Bramantino* are attributed to *Luini*,* and *vice versâ*. The influence of *Borgognone* may be recognised in other frescoes by *Luini*, in the same gallery, as in Nos. 24, 40, and 74. It was not until after 1510 that he imitated *Leonardo* and adopted his second, or Leonardesque, manner, departing from that of his first teachers. It was more than ten years later that in his third, or what is known as his "blond" manner, he completely developed his style, showed himself a really independent master, and executed the works upon which his reputation is mainly founded. He was living at Luino in 1533,† after which time we lose all traces of him. He rarely signed his pictures; only four, belonging to his last period, are known inscribed with his name.‡

The great merit of *Luini* has only been comparatively lately acknowledged. The qualities of power and great individuality are not included within the range of his art; but in purity, grace, and spiritual expression, his works, in their appeal to the heart, take rank with the highest known. His career embraced the period of transition from the earnestness of the older masters, to the feeling for beauty which marked the perfection of Italian art, and his works, especially those of his later period, embody both. Pictures by *Luini* long passed under the name of *Leonardo;* yet his type is so decided and distinct that his hand is now easily recognised. His likeness to *Leonardo*, in pictures of his second manner, is confined to a smiling and pathetically beatific expression, common to both, but much more frequent in *Luini*, whose heads of women, children, and angels present every grade from calm serenity, sweet cheerfulness, and innocent happiness, to ecstatic rapture; nor does *Luini* ever fall into exaggeration. Among his works long catalogued as *Leonardo*'s are the 'Christ disputing with the Doctors,' in the National Gallery; the 'Modesty and Vanity,' in the Sciarra Palace, Rome; the 'Daughter of Herodias,' in

* As for instance a striking fresco already mentioned, p. 381. 'The Sacrifice to Pan,' (N. 57) under *Luini*'s name.

† Ch. Brun Neujahrsblatt der Künstlergesellschaft in Zurich von 1880.

‡ See for Luini Morelli's 'Italian Masters,' &c., pp. 435–437.

the Uffizi, and the same subject repeated elsewhere; and 'the Baptist playing with the Lamb,' in the Ambrosian Library.*

Luini was fortunately a very prolific master, and painted in tempera, fresco, and oil. The greater part of his easel pictures are in oil. His favourite subjects in this form are the Madonna and Child, St. John and the Lamb (one very fine example is in the Rothschild collection, at Paris), the Marriage of St. Catherine (as in the Poldi-Pezzoli Gallery, Milan, in his second manner), and the Daughter of Herodias receiving the Head of the Baptist, sometimes (as in the Louvre and in the Casa Borromeo, Milan) with only the rude hand of the executioner seen. At Legnano, near Milan, is one of his largest altar-pieces in oil—a magnificent work, consisting of centre picture, lunette, four half-length figures of bishops and saints, and the predella—painted in 1524, and in his third manner. In the Cathedral of Como there is a similar altar-piece by him also of his third or best period, but much repainted, representing the Virgin and Child enthroned, and various saints, with the donor, the Canon Raimondi, kneeling before her. In the predella to this picture, which is one of the most beautiful of *Luini*'s works, is St. Jerome in the wilderness. In the same church are two detached shutters of an organ painted in distemper representing the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Kings, with youthful figures of unspeakable charm. They are hung in juxtaposition with similar works by *Gaudenzio Ferrari*, *Luini*'s contemporary and rival, thus affording the means of comparison between the works of these two masters.

Luini is seen to the greatest advantage in his wall-paintings. The transparency and refined delicacy of his colouring, and the accuracy and freedom of his execution place him among the first of fresco-painters. As a decorative painter he is also almost unrivalled. The church of S.

* These misnomers were given comparatively early, and show how all discrimination in art had vanished in the seventeenth century. A St. Catherine by *Luini*, in the Fontainebleau Gallery—the gallery of all others where the Milanese School should have been known—was catalogued as by *Leonardo* as early as 1642. See 'Trésor des Merveilles de Fontainebleau, ar le Père Dan.'

Maurizio (Monastero Maggiore) at Milan, is a very temple of his works and of those of his school. He laboured there in company with *Bramantino*, *Borgognone* (who painted the ceiling of the inner church or choir), and *Boltraffio*, and the entire decoration of the edifice was completed by his pupils and followers. The walls are covered with scripture subjects, the histories of SS. Stephen and Catherine, and single noble and graceful male and female figures, accompanied by the most varied and tasteful decorations—'putti,' festoons of flowers and fruit, and arabesques. By *Luini*'s own hand are the four beautiful female Saints, and the portraits of the founders of the building, on the wall separating the main body of the church from the choir; and, in a side chapel, Christ bound to the column between St. Catherine and St. Stephen, with the person by whom the chapel was endowed kneeling before Him—unique as a subject and conceived with ineffable pathos—and the Martyrdom of St. Catherine. In the exterior spandrels of the same chapel are figures of sybils by him, not unworthy of *Raphael;* and on the vaulted ceiling Angels bearing the instruments of the Passion. These works are dated 1530, and are probably the last executed by the master. In the church of Saronno, a small town at a short distance from Milan, *Luini* painted, in his last manner, four large compositions and several minor works, and full-length figures of Saints, which are amongst his finest productions. The large subjects are the Presentation in the Temple, on which is inscribed his name and the date 1525; the Adoration of the Magi, in which the Virgin and Child are examples of the union of beauty and tenderness which distinguish *Luini*'s best works; the Marriage of the Virgin, with graceful female figures; and Christ disputing with the Doctors, which contains some fine heads, and among them one—that of an old man with a white beard—which, without authority, is said to be the portrait of the painter himself.* In this church he is again seen in juxtaposition with *Gaudenzio Ferrari*, who painted in fresco the interior of the dome. The great

* These four frescoes have been published in chromolithography by the Arundel Society.

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Crucifixion in the church of Lugano has been a magnificent work in his last manner; but it is too much injured to afford any feeling but pain.* The head of the Saviour is especially fine. The Virgin, with the Infant Christ and St. John, a fresco now removed to a chapel in the same church, is one of *Luini*'s most exquisite conceptions.

The Brera contains numerous frescoes by *Luini*, detached from the walls of churches and other buildings. The best known of them is the dead St. Catherine borne to her tomb by flying Angels, one of the most graceful examples of Christian Art, but much damaged and restored (see illustration).† The three frescoes by him in the Louvre, purchased from the Litta family of Milan—the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, and the half-figure of Christ blessing—still give some criterion of the charm of *Luini* in this material.

In England, the collection of Sir Richard Wallace contains two Madonna pictures by *Luini* of great delicacy; that of Bridgewater House, the head of a woman; and that of Lord Ashburton, the infants Christ and St. John the Baptist.

Aurelio Luini was the son of *Bernardino*, whom he assisted in the decoration of the church of S. Maurizio. Several works there ascribed to the latter are by him; but he was a greatly inferior painter to his father. There is a fresco by him representing the Martyrdom of S. Vincenzo, in the Brera. He was living in 1584.

Contemporary with *Bernardino Luini*, but some five or six years his junior, was *Gaudenzio Ferrari*, a painter of undoubted genius and originality, who takes one of the highest places in the Lombard school. He was an accomplished painter, of masculine power, great invention, fine drawing and drapery, and great charm of female and infant heads. Few have attained greater beauty in these respects. Signor Morelli says of him: "he has not the grace of *Luini;* neither are his works so perfect in execution as those of his rival; but take him for all in all, as regards inventive genius, dramatic life and picturesqueness

* Engraved in Rosini's history of Italian Painting.

† Published in chromolithography by the Arundel Society, with outlines of the heads from tracings.

he stands far above *Luini*. In his hot haste *Ferrari* often loses his balance, and becomes quaint and affected. Many of his larger compositions, too, are over-crowded with figures; but in his best works he is inferior to very few of his contemporaries, and occasionally, as in some of those groups of men and women in the great Crucifixion at Varallo, he might challenge a comparison with *Raphael* himself." *

Gaudenzio was born at Valduggia, a village near the town of Varallo in Piedmont, in 1484. His mother's name was *Vinci*, his father's *Ferrari*.† It has been assumed that he owed his first artistic education to *Girolamo Giovanone*, a weak painter some years his junior. It is more probable that he acquired the rudiments of his art at Vercelli, where there was a provincial school of painters, which numbered among its members *Macrino d'Alba*, who may have been his first master, and *Boniforte Oldoni* and his three sons.‡ He went at an early age to Milan, where, according to *Lomazzo*, he became the pupil of *Scotto*, a painter already mentioned as the probable master of *Luini*. He may, at the same time, have frequented the studios of *Luini* and *Bramantino*, and have formed his style upon their works. Early productions by him have passed under the names of both masters, and the influence of *Bramantino* upon him is seen in four small panel pictures in the Turin Gallery. Like this painter, *Gaudenzio Ferrari* had the habit of throwing the light upon his figures from below.

In 1508, when about twenty-four years of age, he was commissioned to paint a picture for the church of Vercelli. In 1511 he executed the fine triptych in the church of S. Maria at Arona, with a Holy Family and Saints, and the portrait of a countess Borromeo, the donor. In the head of the Virgin we find that beautiful type, uniting maiden-like simplicity with exquisite grace, which distinguishes the

* 'Italian Masters,' &c., p. 441.

† He signs himself 'Gaudentius Vincius' on an altar-piece at Arona—a signature which has led writers on art into the error of making *Gaudenzio Vinci* a distinct painter. See previous edition of this work, p. 368. In a contract dated 1750 he calls himself 'Gaudentius de Vincio de Varali.'

‡ Their names were *Ercole*, *Giosué*, and *Eleazar*. Pictures and frescoes by them may be found in this part of Piedmont. Morelli, p. 412, note.

early works of the master. Soon after he had painted this picture he must have settled in Varallo, where he resided and worked for the greater part of his life. In 1513 he had completed, in S. Maria delle Grazie there, the frescoes on the wall separating the main body of the church from the choir—twenty in number—representing the history of Christ, a gigantic work, which may be supposed to have occupied him for several years.* These pictures, which are well preserved, are of unequal merit. The central composition, the Crucifixion, is of considerable size, and somewhat crowded, but contains striking and even beautiful figures and groups. In the armour of the Roman soldiers and the trappings of their horses, *Gaudenzio* has used reliefs in stucco, bronzed and gilt, according to the practice of painters of an earlier period. He shows in this work a fondness for giving to his figures quaint and fantastic head-dresses—a taste he probably acquired from *Bramantino*. Some of the smaller subjects are very charming. The Virgin is a lovely and graceful maiden, with yellow or golden hair—as in the 'Flight to Egypt' and the countenance of our Lord is generally dignified and expressive. The hands of the figures are long, with tapering fingers, and their feet generally ill-drawn. The colour is bright, but, on the whole, harmonious. In 1515† he had finished, in the chapel of S. Margherita in the same church two wall paintings—the Presentation in the Temple, and Christ disputing with the Doctors—which show his command over the process of fresco in producing the required effect by broad and rapid execution. The composition in both is less crowded than usual with him. Whilst engaged on these frescoes he probably painted the 'Ancona,' or great altar-piece in six compartments, in the church of S. Gaudenzio (Varallo), one of the most perfect of his early works, and perhaps his *chef-d'œuvre*. The central group—the Virgin

* According to Signor Colombo ('Vita ed Opere di Gaudenzio Ferrari.' Turin, 1881. p. 64) they were only commenced in 1512; but it is scarcely possible that they could have been executed in so short a time.

† Considerable doubts exist as to the date of the execution of the frescoes in the chapel of S. Margherita. They may have been commenced by *Gaudenzio* as early as 1507. See Colombo, op. cit. pp. 40, 41 and 71, 77.

holding the Infant Christ, who is placing the ring on the finger of St. Catherine, with St. Joseph in the background —is one of great beauty, and two of the Saints in the lateral compartments are noble and dignified figures. The draperies are disposed in broad folds. In 1524* and subsequent years he covered with frescoes the walls of three of the chapels, or 'Stations,' of the Sacro Monte of Varallo, a celebrated place of pilgrimage; in the fifth he painted the Adoration of the Magi, in the thirty-eighth the Crucifixion, and in the fortieth a 'Pietà.' Of these the most important is the Crucifixion, a large composition crowded with figures, and containing many beautiful groups of women and children (see illustration), and many heads of men, which for dignity and masterly treatment and brilliancy of colour are not unequal to the works of the best period of the Venetian school. He has, as was his wont, introduced into this subject a variety of fantastic and extravagant head-dresses and costumes. On the ceiling are eighteen lamenting angels, of grand and graceful character, some strongly foreshortened and of the finest expression, and all in attitudes of the most impetuous grief. The other chapels were decorated by his followers and imitators, such as *Tabacchetti*, *Miel*, *Testa*, and other local painters, whose works only show how rapidly *Gaudenzio*'s influence declined and his school degenerated. To *Gaudenzio* are also attributed the painted terra-cotta statues in the chapels on the ascent of the Sacro Monte, which are objects of wonder and admiration to the innumerable pilgrims who frequent this sacred spot; whilst the bad taste of the colour and clothing make them highly repugnant to a cultivated eye. But it is very doubtful whether any of them were executed or modeled by him, although he may have given the design for some which show more merit than others. In 1532–35, assisted by his scholar *Lanini*, *Gaudenzio* painted in fresco the transept of the church of S. Cristoforo at Vercelli. The Birth, Annunciation, and Visitation of the Virgin, the Adoration of the

* Doubts exist as to the date of the execution of the frescoes of the Sacro Monte. They may have been begun in 1524, and finished in 1529. Colombo, op. cit., p. 107.

GROUP OF WOMEN from a fresco by Ghirlandaio in the Church of the Santa Maria Novella

...PE OF ANGELS, by Gaudenzio Ferrari, in the Church of Saronno.

Shepherds and of the Kings, the Crucifixion and the Assumption of the Virgin, are by his own hand. They are full of beauty and character, but, as usual, here and there extravagant. In 1535 he adorned the cupola of the church of Saronno—whereas, we have seen, *Luini* had executed some of his finest frescoes—with concentric circles of Angels—those in the lower large and draped, singing and playing on a variety of instruments, and those above, naked winged boys of the highest beauty; truly a magnificent work, executed in all its parts with the greatest care, and for richness of colour and appropriateness of treatment one of the finest existing examples of this class of decoration (see illustration).

There is a tradition that *Gaudenzio* went to Rome, formed a friendship with *Raphael*, and painted with him in the Farnesina Palace. But there is no foundation for it, and he was probably never in that city. He appears, like many other painters, to have fallen under the influence of *Michael Angelo*, whose works he may possibly have seen in Tuscany, although it is very doubtful whether he ever left the north of Italy. The proof of the existence of this influence is furnished by his frescoes in the church of S. Maria delle Grazie at Milan (1542), which are coarse, exaggerated, and Michael-Angelesque, with few of the fine qualities of his earlier works. *Gaudenzio*'s first manner, as we have seen, was purely Lombardesque. He changed it in the latter part of his career; his colouring became red and 'hot,' and his drawing academical, losing its early grace and refinement, and he abandoned the beautiful and simple type which at one time characterised his Madonnas. In his early manner, there are, in the Cathedral of Como, two tempera pictures—the shutters of an organ, to which we have already referred*—works of great grace and refinement. In his second manner are the great oil-picture of the Martyrdom of St. Catherine in the Brera, and the large single figure of St. Paul in the Louvre,—one of his last known works—signed and dated 1543. His easel-pictures are rare. The National Gallery is without one. In Mr. Holford's collection (London) there

* See p. 421.

is a Virgin and Child, with Cardinal Taverna in adoration before her, which may be classed among his good works. *Gaudenzio Ferrari* died in 1549. His productions are chiefly to be found in Piedmont and the Milanese.*

Girolamo Giovanone, who has been usually accepted as the first master of *Gaudenzio Ferrari*, was, as we have seen,† by some years his junior, and has no claim to that honour. He was a painter of little merit—behind the period both in general conception and in execution of detail. He probably came from the school of the artist family of the *Oldoni*, established at Vercelli. One of his earliest known pictures, signed and dated 1514, is in the Turin Gallery; another, also signed, a Virgin and Child with two female saints, is in the possession of Lady Eastlake. By *Defendente Ferrari*, a painter of the same school, there is a picture—Christ in the Temple—with his monogram and the date of 1526, in the Stuttgart Gallery, and others in the public galleries of Turin and Bergamo. He was a good and original colourist and the best artist that Piedmont has produced.

Bernardino Lanini, who was also a native of Vercelli, was born about 1508. He was the ablest scholar of *Gaudenzio Ferrari*. A signed picture, dated 1543, in the National Gallery, representing the Holy Family, with the Magdalen, St. Paul, and Pope Gregory the Great, is one of his best works, and shows a close and successful imitation of the second manner of his master. His *chef-d'œuvre* is perhaps an altar-piece in the Duomo of Borgo Sesia, near Varallo, with the Virgin and Child and numerous saints. He is seen as a fresco painter of considerable merit at Novara, and in the church of SS. Nazzaro e Celso, at Milan. The school founded by *Gaudenzio* at Vercelli died out with *Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo*, who is better known as a writer on art ‡ than as a painter, and who appears as an imitator of *Rosso*

* The most important frescoes by *Gaudenzio Ferrari* have been engraved and published. See 'Le Opere del pittore e plasticatore Gaudenzio Ferrari dir. et discr. da G. Bordega,' Milan 1835. For a notice of the painter see Morelli's 'Italian Masters,' &c., pp. 438–442.

† Ante, p. 424.

‡ He was the author of the 'Trattato della Pittura,' 1584, and 'Idea del Tempio della Pittura,' 1590.

Fiorentino in some frescoes in the chapel of St. Mark at Milan; and his scholar *Ambrogio Figino*, a weak and mannered imitator of his early style.

CHAPTER XVI.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

Michael Angelo Buonarroti was born at Castel Caprese, of which place his father was Podesta, in the diocese of Arezzo, March 6th, 1475.* Though the endeavours of his contemporary biographers to endow him with a noble lineage have not been confirmed by subsequent researches, yet there is no doubt that his family were of a respectable citizen class, occupying the modest villa of Settignano in the neighbourhood of Florence, until recently owned by a Buonarroti,† and still showing the hand of the youthful genius in an almost obliterated drawing on a wall. Like *Leonardo da Vinci*, though the comparison between these two great men goes no further, *Michael Angelo* was gifted with a plurality of powers, being equally grand and original in sculpture and in painting, and in each attaining an eminence unsurpassed in modern art. He also undertook great works in architecture, and was a poet of energy and feeling. In mastery of anatomy *Leonardo da Vinci* has alone rivalled him; but though the love of that science assumes conspicuous prominence in his works, yet the only real solution both of his life and art lies in the grand and independent character of the man himself.

Michael Angelo early showed his passion for art; and after receiving, as it is told, rough usage from his father in the vain attempt to force his inclinations in another direction, he was, at the age of thirteen (1488), apprenticed for three years to *Domenico Ghirlandajo*. The nonage of the great

* Owing to the Florentine year commencing, at that time, on Lady Day *Michael Angelo* is generally stated to have been born in 1474

† It has been entirely renovated by its present owner.

man was equally extraordinary as his manhood. Young as he was, his proficiency was already such as to reverse the usual conditions of apprenticeship. Instead of paying a premium, the young lad received one for his services. This fact, coupled with the stories of *Ghirlandajo*'s avowal that the scholar excelled the master in knowledge, justifies the supposition that the unfinished picture in the National Gallery—the Madonna and Child, with the infant Baptist and angels—dates either from the period of his apprenticeship, or from a very early time after it.* Nor is this picture a more extraordinary production of a young lad than the head of the Satyr, now in the Sala degli Inscrizione, in the Uffizi, † or the bas-relief of the Battle of the Centaurs, still in the Casa Buonarroti—both known to have been executed in 1489–91; nor does it show more than an equal precocity in each art. According to these dates, it is evident that the young *Michael Angelo* testified his predilection for sculpture even during the period of his apprenticeship to *Ghirlandajo*. It was also in 1489 that he studied the remains of antique sculpture in the so-called Academy of the Medici Gardens, where he attracted the notice and encouragement of Lorenzo the Magnificent. The absence of all further pictorial specimens by his hand in the first decade of his career, confirms his often-asserted preference for the plastic art. At the same time his study of the greatest painters in and near Florence, and the unparalleled ardour with which he conquered the difficulties of anatomy, will account for the occupation of several years, for which there are few existing works,

* It is right to mention that the authenticity of this picture is questioned by some writers on art, who would attribute it to another scholar of *Ghirlandajo*, perhaps *Granacci*. But it has qualities which no other painter of the period, except *Michael Angelo*, possessed, and its technical execution corresponds with that of the Holy Family by him in the Tribune of the Uffizi.

† A foolish story is told by Vasari regarding the observations of Lorenzo de' Medici on this head, which still exists to refute the tale. In the departure from the human to the animal character, the teeth were purposely modeled wide apart, and it is evident that no tooth has been knocked out. It is however doubtful whether the head of a satyr, or faun, in the Uffizi, is by *Michael Angelo*. It is now believed to be a work of later date, and an imitation of the original. (Dr. Richter's 'Notes on Vasari's Lives,' Bohn's standard library, vol. 4., p. 277.)

even in sculpture, to show. The nature of this great man, unlike that of *Leonardo da Vinci*, was to devote himself with utmost energy to all he undertook, although he frequently left works both in sculpture and painting unfinished, probably very dissatisfied with the results he had obtained. His varied gifts did not interfere with each other; nor did his social habits, or his desire of shining among the great of the earth, tempt him to waste his time and powers. All he sought was diligently and conscientiously to fulfil whatever he engaged to do. Yet no man was ever more fretted and frustrated in this respect, and the annals of his life show that perpetual interference and interruption of his work which is the greatest tyranny that ignorance and despotism can exercise, and genius endure. With such standards of power before us as the youthful works just mentioned present, there is small record of anything worthy to succeed them till he was twenty-five years of age. Such specimens of his sculpture as are recorded by historians—a colossal figure of Hercules, a wooden Crucifix, a youthful St. John, and the Sleeping Cupid, (endeavoured to be passed off as an antique)—have as effectually disappeared as the colossal figure in snow reported to have been piled up by his hands for Piero de' Medici, in 1494.* The figure of an angel on the shrine of St. Domenick in the Church of S. Domenico at Bologna, executed 1495, gives no promise of greatness. The Bacchus also, still existing in the Uffizi, can excite no enthusiasm. The first work preserved to posterity in which the great master asserts himself is the 'Pietà' in St. Peter's, at Rome, executed 1499–1500. Here his marvellous knowledge of anatomy is combined with fine sentiment in the body of our Lord, while the Virgin's head announces that strange, abstract, and solemnly expressionless character peculiar to his hand, which prevails in most of his female heads in sculpture.

Michael Angelo's merits as a sculptor will ever elicit most varied opinions. To those who bow before the purity

* The statue of the youthful Baptist in the Berlin Museum attributed to *Michael Angelo*, appears to be an imitation of the original of a later period. The sleeping Cupid in the Turin Academy of Fine Arts, which has been attributed to *Michael Angelo*, is a feeble work.

and majesty of the antique he will always be what Gibson, the sculptor, called him—"a great Barbarian." But all such comparison and criticism must be interdicted in judging him. In avoidance of the accidental and the individual, in a certain sense he may be said to occupy common ground with Phidias himself; but all community of character ceases there. Having evidently no sympathy for the qualities predominant in the antique, he took the only alternative open to an original mind, by departing as far as possible from them. Beauty, repose, symmetry, and grace he eschewed; expression and individuality he aimed not at; detail of drapery or ornament he scorned. We arrive, therefore, at some estimate of the stupendous nature of that power and subjective instinct which, in the absence of all these qualities, still takes our admiration by storm. The Greeks aimed at an abstract ideal superior to nature; *Michael Angelo* at something equally abstract, but foreign to, and outside of, nature. Their art embodies the supernatural; his what may be termed the ultra-natural. Far, therefore, from instituting a comparison between him and the Greeks, it is the difference between them which may be said to constitute the character of his art. Still, the two must be kept apart; for when seen in close juxtaposition, as in the restoration by him of the antique river-god in the Museo Clementino in the Vatican, there are few who can hesitate as to which art sinks by the comparison.

The figure of David, formerly in front of the Palazzo Vecchio, and now removed tot he Accademia, (Florence), fashioned out of a clumsy figure which had been abandoned by a sculptor; the St. Matthew in the Cortile of the same institution—the sole figure executed or remaining out of twelve he had undertaken; and the two bas-reliefs of the Virgin and Child—the one in the Royal Academy, Burlington House, the other in the Uffizi—are the only relics of sculpture of a period which takes us to the year 1504. Meanwhile, about 1503, the circular picture with the Madonna and Child and St. Joseph, in the Tribune of the Uffizi, is believed to have been painted, and remains the only finished picture hitherto known by his hand. It is in tempera—he never

THE HOLY FAMILY, by Michael Angelo, in the Tribune
in the Uffizi, Florence

used oil — and is singularly unattractive in composition (see woodcut.)

This is the place also to mention an unfinished picture of the Entombment, from the Gallery of Cardinal Fesch, now in the National Gallery, assigned to the master by indubitable internal evidence,* and which obviously belongs to a far later date than the unfinished Holy Family in the same gallery. Here again the delicately and wonderfully modeled body of the Dead Saviour has a refinement and pathos not displayed in his representations of living figures. It has, at the same time, a sculpturesque character which recalls the group of the female figure, probably the Virgin, sustaining the Dead Christ, in the Accademia at Genoa.† Some sketches by *Michael Angelo* in the Albertina (Vienna) are believed to be studies for it.

The commission undertaken both by *Leonardo da Vinci* and *Michael Angelo* to decorate the walls of the great council chamber at Florence with subjects taken from the Pisan war has been referred to in the foregoing chapter. *Michael Angelo* selected a scene when the call to arms is suddenly heard by a number of soldiers bathing in the Arno (see woodcut). All is movement and hurry in the crowd of nude and agitated figures, who are climbing out of the water, and eagerly seeking their clothes and weapons. One man is thrusting his still wet limbs with difficulty into his garment. Otherwise the moment is so chosen that no clothing intercepts the full display of the human figure under circumstances of the most violent action. The cartoon for this work, beyond which it never went, commenced 1504 and publicly seen in 1506, excited an extraordinary sensation, and was studied by all the young painters of the day, *Raphael* included. Benvenuto Cellini placed this 'lost cartoon of Pisa,' as it is commonly called, above every subsequent work by the master, and termed it 'the school of the world.' Unfettered by processes of fresco or

* The authenticity of this work, which was at first disputed, is now generally admitted. See Frizzoni's 'Arte Italiana nella Galleria Nazionale di Londra,' p. 18.

† A cast of this unfinished group is in the collection of *Michael Angelo's* works in the Florence Academy, an inscription on the wooden pedestal erroneously stating that the original is at Rome.

tempera, in which he never felt entirely at ease, it is quite intelligible how the mighty hand must have revelled here. In proportion to the simplicity of the means, was the power he wielded over them. Those who have seen the drawing by him of a Madonna, in the Buonarroti Palace, in which a miracle of roundness, gradation, and force is produced by touches of red and black chalk on coarse paper, will best comprehend what that cartoon must have been. Its destruction as soon as completed is one of those pregnant facts in Italian history which shows how little the respect for art protected its grandest specimens from lawless violence. The story of its having been destroyed by *Baccio Bandinelli*, a rival competitor, bears utmost improbability on its face; for no man alone and undetected could, while all artists were studying it, have contrived the destruction of so large a work.* It is now only known by engravings of portions by *Marc' Antonio*, and *Agostino da Venezia*. An early copy of the principal composition, from which we give the woodcut, is in the possession of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham.

In 1505 *Michael Angelo* was invited to Rome to undertake a monument for Julius II., who desired to repose in the grandest sepulchre yet known in Christendom. This was a work after the master's own heart, and he threw himself into it with all his tremendous energy, the design still preserved showing an elaborate combination of forty figures. Now began what Condivi justly terms 'la Tragedia del Sepolcro.' Commenced from the Pope's pride and vanity, discontinued from his superstition—some one having whispered that the preparation of a mausoleum was sure to hasten the period for its occupation—alternately interdicted by succeeding pontiffs, and reduced by prudent heirs, this work was for more than forty years one continued source of distress and mortification to the impetuous and conscientious artist, till at last it dwindled down to the statue of Moses alone—two other figures being only from *Michael Angelo*'s designs—and

* It is known to have contained at least nineteen full-sized figures, to have been stretched on wood, and to have required fourteen quires of royal Bolognese folio paper. Gaye, vol. ii., pp. 92–3. It was also placed in the great hall of the Medici, now Riccardi, Palace.

hid its diminished head within the small church of S. Pietro in Vinculis; one figure of a Victory, destined for the original design, now in the Palazzo Vecchio (Florence), and two Slaves in the Louvre, being the other remnants of the great undertaking.

For one cause of interruption to this work Julius II. may be forgiven by posterity—namely, the creation of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. In the cabals and intrigues which were the lifelong trials of this great man, it is known that the despotic desire of this Pope, that *Michael Angelo* should decorate the Chapel of Sixtus IV., was prompted by *Bramante* and others, who, jealous of the favour in which he was held, anticipated his failure in a process, namely fresco, in which he had no experience. Whatever the motive for forcing on *Michael Angelo* a commission which he undertook with the utmost unwillingness, the result was the greatest triumph that modern art has known. The praise of the Sistine ceiling from that time to this embraces the emptiest tirades and the loftiest eloquence. It has been praised for merits it does not possess, or which it possesses in common with the works of others; but it can never be too much extolled for those proper to itself alone. The arrangement and sequel of the subjects as a long-established theological series was no new idea. In this respect *Michael Angelo* only adhered to a prescribed course. The manner in which he compelled it to serve his 'terribile via' is the real wonder. Nor was it necessary, as Vasari has done, to assign an impossibly short period to the execution of this work, in order to do the painter greater homage. The day on which it was commenced has been ascertained—namely, the 10th of May, 1508. It is also now known that the scaffoldings on which *Michael Angelo* worked were still standing at Christmas 1512.* It is said that, unversed as he was in the art of fresco, the artist enlisted the help of *Granacci*, *Bugiardini*, and other

* So curiously inaccurate were contemporary writers that Fea, 'Notizie intorno Rafaello,' p. 27, quotes a passage dated June 3, 1509, in which the Sistine ceiling is described as not only then finished, but heightened with gold—a gaudy effect desired by the Pope, but never executed. Towards the end of 1512, and in the first days of the following year, the whole of the ceiling was exposed to view. Sansoni's 'Vasari,' vol. vii., p. 354.

painters, to execute the fresco from his designs, but that, dissatisfied with their performances, he obliterated what they had done. At all events, the fact that no hand but his was employed speaks for itself. It is even stated that he designed the scaffolding on which he worked, and which he raised upon the floor of the chapel; one intended by *Bramante* for his use having been suspended from above.

The ceiling of the Sistine Chapel forms in its section a flattened arch. The central, narrow, oblong portion—a flat surface—contains a series of nine pictures, four larger and five smaller. They commence chronologically with—

1 (small). The figure of the Almighty, supposed to be calling for Light.

2. The Almighty chasing away Darkness, or, as some have called it. Chaos.

3 (small). The acts of Creation which preceded that of Man.

4. The Creation of Man.

5 (small, centre). The Creation of Eve.

6. Temptation and Fall.

7 (small). The Sacrifice of Noah.

8. The Deluge.

9 (small). The Drunkenness of Noah.

In all of these, however grand, *Michael Angelo* may be viewed as a link in the great chain of Italian art. Not only the subjects but the treatment of them is that of one who, preserving always his own distinctive qualities, followed in the track of his forerunners, though standing on their shoulders. *Masaccio* is seen in the Expulsion of Adam and Eve; *Benozzo Gozzoli* in the Almighty borne on cherubs. The portions of the ceiling in which the Michaelangelesque element, in point of conception, reigns alone, are the twelve figures of the Prophets and Sibyls—seven Prophets and five Sibyls, seated in throne-like niches—who, as foretellers of the Saviour, always appear in these Biblical cycles. Here they are made prominent, being by far the largest figures in the whole ceiling. Of these figures it is impossible to speak in adequate language. They embody the highest ideas of inspiration, meditation, and prophetic woe. Jeremiah may be singled out as their grandest personification. He sits

buried in profoundest reverie, and, whether taken as a whole or in detail—whether we regard the matchless unity of the form and attitude, or the perfection of grand drawing of head and hands—this figure may be fearlessly pronounced the finest that modern painter has conceived (see woodcut). Still, though types of the highest monumental treatment, these Prophets, like the other portions we have mentioned, had their predecessors in pictorial art—namely, in the figures of the Sciences in the Cappella degli Spagnuoli in the cloisters of S. Maria Novella, at Florence. It cannot, however, be said of the Sibyls that any previous creations had led the way to them. *Michael Angelo*'s mind here conceived a distinct type of beings, unconcerned with human matters, "alike devoid of the expression of feminine sweetness, human sympathy, or sacramental beauty; neither Christian nor Jew, witches nor graces, yet living creatures, grand, beautiful, and true, according to laws revealed to the great Sistine genius alone." *

Of the same exclusive order of Michaelangelesque creation are also the nude figures, called Athletes, seated on projecting parts of the cornice, and occupying spaces between each Scripture subject. Too manly to be youths, too youthful to be men—without wings, without beards—equally distinct from modern character, or from reminiscences of the antique, these figures, like the Sibyls, are a new race. But though *Michael Angelo* never stood more separately on his own feet than in the conception of these Athletes, they are the portion of the ceiling to which least justice has hitherto been done.†

The so-called 'Genealogy of the Virgin,' occupies the spandrels and arches above the windows. It is represented by a succession of groups of a simple and domestic kind, showing no distinct event, but rather that form of family life so familiar in pictures of the time, but not otherwise

* 'History of Our Lord in Art,' vol. i., p. 254.

† The autotypes of the Sistine ceiling, taken from the work itself, are among the finest contribution to the lovers of art that the photographic lens has yet made; and they especially bring to light the extraordinary power and beauty of these abstract beings.

treated by the great master, and offering interesting points of comparison with *Raphael* (see woodcut).

Four historical subjects in the corner soffits of the ceiling may still be mentioned, representing instances of the deliverance of the people of Israel:—1. Judith with the Head of Holofernes, a composition of utmost grace and simplicity; 2. David killing Goliath; 3. The Elevation of the Brazen Serpent; and 4. The Crucifixion of Haman. This last especially is a masterpiece of foreshortening.

The connection, as well as separation, between these numerous compositions is formed by an architectural framework of massive and simple arrangement, which assists the distinctness of the principal parts, and gives that necessary appearance of solidity and support to a work which must be considered as suspended above the spectator. Taken as a whole, the ceiling required and exemplifies the union of the architect, sculptor, and painter, each having his particular department. The spectator will readily observe the difference in scale in the three Scripture subjects on the flat oblong centre nearest the door. Though last in order of chronology, they are known to have been the first executed. A story is told by Condivi, that on completing the subject of the Deluge, the painter became greatly disheartened by observing a mouldy efflorescence on the surface of the work. This was a defect soon remedied; but it is surmised with greater probability that *Michael Angelo*'s dissatisfaction was rather occasioned by discovering that, owing to the small size of his figures, these compositions were indistinctly seen from below. The change in the next compartment from this scale to a colossal size warrants this surmise.*

Between the completion of the Sistine ceiling and the commencement of his next great pictorial work, the Last Judgment, viz., from 1512 to 1534, the time and energies of the great master were the sport equally of ignorant private dictation and of public calamity. Julius II. died in 1513, but Leo X. reigned in his stead, and history never made a greater mistake than in extolling him as a patron of the

* For the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel see plate at the end of this volume.

arts. To him was owing the banishment of *Michael Angelo* to the wilds of Carrara and Pietra Santa for a period of six years, merely to superintend the excavation of marble columns for the façade of the church of S. Lorenzo at Florence, which was never built. One only column, which reached that city, lies in the Piazza di S. Lorenzo to this present day. No great work was given to the world by the master under that Pontiff. The only record of his hand is the heavy and somewhat repulsive statue of Christ holding His Cross, now in the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva (Rome).

In 1524, under another Medici pope, Clement VII., the Medici monuments in the chapel adjoining the church of S. Lorenzo were commenced. They were destined to struggle on through all the interruptions arising from the distracted state of Italy, when the appointment of *Michael Angelo* as Commissary-general of the Fortifications of Florence (in 1529) turned his thoughts and hands from the arts of peace to those of war. That these monuments were complete in 1536, appears from a record that the Emperor Charles V. saw them in a finished state in that year. They are too well known to require description in a work like this, dedicated to painting only. The two Medici statues partake of that solemnity of effect which invests the Prophets of the Sistine ceiling; but the extraordinary figures, male and female, so strangely reclining below, defy alike criticism and explanation. They have received the names of 'Day and Night,' 'Dawn and Twilight;' but the subjective instinct of the master urged him here too far outside the pale of human sympathy for any terms, however vague, to define his intention.

It was in his sixtieth year, 1534, that the commencement of the great fresco of the Last Judgment brought him back to the Sistine Chapel. He undertook it by desire of Clement VII., who died in the same year, and finished it within seven years, in the pontificate of Paul III. If we consider the number of figures, the daring boldness of the treatment, the grand drawing, and the feats of foreshortening, this enormous work may be said to add another wonder to the contents of the Chapel; though in purity and grandeur it

falls far short of the glories of the ceiling. In the upper portion appears Christ as Judge, surrounded by the Apostles, with Saints and Martyrs on each side. Above, under the arches of the vault, are groups of figures in headlong attitudes, bearing the instruments of the Passion. Below the Judge is another group, holding the Book of Life, and summoning with their trumpets the Dead to rise. On the one side these are seen rising, and buoyantly ascending to the abodes of the Blessed. On the other the Condemned are audaciously pressing upward, attacked by Demons, and borne or hurled down below. Single groups of demons, struggling with guilty mortals, are among the finest examples of anatomical knowledge * (see woodcut).

The person of the Saviour is generally described as raising his right hand and arm in wrath, and in condemnation of the wicked. But, far from this being the case, the action is rather to be interpreted in a traditional sense as exhibiting the print of the nail in the uplifted hand, and the wound in the side, and as intended as a sign of acceptance of the Blessed; the depressed action of the left hand, by which the print of the nail is concealed, being the corresponding action of rejection of the Condemned. This mode of expressing acceptance and rejection was usual from an early date of Christian art. In the more particular position of the Saviour, *Michael Angelo* is supposed to have adopted that in the Cathedral of Orvieto, conceived by one the very antipodes to himself—namely, by *Fra Angelico.*† In the vehemence given to all that the master touched, it is not surprising that the original intention should be difficult to recognise. The whole picture asserts equally his tremendous power, and his utter disregard for the decorums of Christian art. The eye accepts as natural the nudity of the figures rising from their graves; but the huge gladiatorial forms of the Apostles, standing, like ministers of violence, naked around the Saviour, detract utterly from the solemnity, and even from the mean-

* Studies for these groups are in the University Galleries, Oxford.

† Christ with the same action is seen in the fresco of the last Judgment in the Campo Santo, Pisa, by *Bernardo Daddi*, formerly attributed to *Orcagna*. See p. 112.

THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL, a fresco by Michael Angelo, in the Vatican.

ing of the scene. Nor did the audacious imagination of a painter ever go further than in the figure of St. Bartholomew holding forth his empty skin to the view of the world. Examined in detail, this work teems with merits of handling and marvels of knowledge; but, taken as a whole, it is heavy and expressionless in effect. The absence of drapery in the human figures, and of wings in the angels, renders it monotonous and indistinct; while, as to all sentiment of a religious kind, it can only be called a parody of the most daring nature. The nudity of the figures gave offence even during the life of the master. Paul IV., who knew as little of art as his predecessors, and pretended less, desired to have this fresco destroyed. On the displeasure of the Pope being announced to him, the independent spirit of the painter is reported to have thus expressed itself, "Tell his Holiness to trouble himself less about the amendment of pictures, and more about the reformation of men." It was afterwards arranged that *Daniele da Volterra*, a scholar of *Michael Angelo*, should add draperies to some of the most objectionable portions; which fixed upon him the nickname of "il Braghettone." At a later period the effect of the work was injured by a repetition of the same affectation. An excellent copy on a small scale, seven and a half feet high, by *Marcello Venusti*, is in the Gallery at Naples.*

In 1549–50, when seventy-five years old, *Michael Angelo* executed two frescoes in the Pauline Chapel in the Vatican. They have been utterly neglected, and so much effaced by the smoke of candles, as to be almost forgotten. The Crucifixion of St. Peter, under the window, though seen with difficulty, is a grand and stern composition. The Conversion of St. Paul (see woodcut), on the opposite wall, is better seen.

The pictures ascribed to *Michael Angelo* in different galleries are only so far his as being taken from his designs, which he bestowed liberally among his scholars. No finished picture, except the Holy Family, in the tribune of the Uffizi, is known by his hand. A Leda executed for the Duke of Ferrara, is lost, unless that in the National Gallery,

* A copy by *Sigalon* is in the Beaux Arts at Paris.

as some maintain, be the original picture.* Some of the subjects painted from his designs are the following:—the Three Fates, in the Pitti, by *Rosso Fiorentino;* the composition of the Child sleeping in the lap of the Virgin, with one arm hanging down, of which there are many examples; Christ at the Well with the Woman of Samaria —an example at Devonshire House, and another in the Liverpool Institution; an Annunciation, by *Marcello Venusti*, in the sacristy of the Lateran; a subject called 'The Dream'—a specimen in the National Gallery; the Crucifixion, supposed to be by *Sebastian del Piombo*, in the Berlin Museum; Christ on the Mount of Olives; a Pietà; the Annunciation—a fine example in the Apsley House Gallery; and Ganymede and the Eagle, in Hampton Court. Most of these are frequently repeated.

Michael Angelo's sketches, the finest collection of which is probably that in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, are among his most extraordinary productions. His hand here followed his will with triumphant rapidity and certainty; and the simpler the means, the greater the exhibition of power.

The work which occupied the last seventeen years of his life was the continuation of the great church of St. Peter's at Rome, to which he was appointed architect in 1547, and which he carried on without salary for the love of God. The work had been commenced by *Bramante* on the plan of an equilateral cross, popularly called the Greek Cross; but was shifted backwards and forwards, from the Greek to the Latin form, by *Raphael*, by *Baldassare Peruzzi*, by *San Gallo*, and finally restored to the so-called Greek form by *Michael Angelo*. There is no doubt that had he lived to complete the building, or had his model for it, executed in his eighty-fourth year, been adhered to, this great temple would have been less open to criticism. But an architect of the name of Maderna, employed by Paul V., again reverted to the Latin cross, and thus, by elongating the nave and erecting the present wretched façade, dislocated the proportions, and

* This picture, for obvious reasons, is not publicly exhibited. An early copy—a cartoon—is in the Royal Academy.

ruined the whole effect of the building.* The merit of the grand dome, and of the structural safety of the enormous pile, belongs to *Michael Angelo*.

We have no space to dwell upon *Michael Angelo*'s individual character, which, while according in strength and originality with his works, is more intelligible than they. All great men are, in a certain sense, out of date with their times, and in conflict with them; and, though his lot was cast at a period when the arts of painting and sculpture were in utmost excellence and demand, yet all that then accompanied them in those days of treachery and intrigue was bitterly antagonistic to a mind of the loftiest integrity and independence. *Michael Angelo* is accused of moroseness and intractability; but, judging even from the contemporary accounts, which are full of puerility and exaggeration, it is evident that, for one of his noble nature, condemned to witness the vices of the great and the degradation of his country, there was no resource but to take refuge in his art —hindered as he perpetually was even in that—and to dwell apart. He died on the 18th February, 1564.

Among the scholars of *Michael Angelo* we will for the present mention only those who either immediately carried out his designs, or were capable of inventing works in his style. The foremost of these is *Marcello Venusti* of Como,† who painted frequently from the master's drawings, and is distinguished by a delicate and neat execution. In the Colonna Gallery at Rome there is a picture by him—Christ appearing to the Souls in Hades—of noble and excellent "motives" in detail, but too scattered and feeble in composition. One of his best works in which he has shown himself a fine colourist—'Christ driving out the traders from the Temple'—is in the National Gallery. He died in 1579. *Sebastian del Piombo* also worked in a similar way, in conjunction with the great master. We shall notice one of the most important pictures of this kind in a future chapter.

* See 'Illustrations, Architectural and Pictorial, of the Genius of Michael Angelo,' with descriptions of the Plates by the Commendatore Canina, C. R. Cockerell, Esq., R.A., and John Harford, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., 1857.

† He was born at Como and not at Mantua as stated by Vasari.

The most able and independent pupil, or follower, properly speaking, of *Michael Angelo*, but who had been previously a scholar of *Bazzi* and *Peruzzi*, is *Daniele Ricciarelli*, called *Daniele da Volterra*. He was born about 1509, died 1566. He imbibed the peculiarities of his master, though he by no means reached his sublimity.* His best picture—a Descent from the Cross, in the Trinità de' Monti, at Rome—is copious in composition, and altogether a grand, impassioned work, of powerful action (see woodcut). An excellently composed, but somewhat inexpressive Baptism of Christ is in S. Pietro in Montorio, at Rome. A double picture in the Louvre, representing David and Goliath, in two different points of view, painted on each side of a panel of slate, is violent in action, but of such masterly power of representation as to have long passed under *Michael Angelo*'s name. A celebrated picture, the Massacre of the Innocents, by him, in the tribune of the Uffizi at Florence; it contains more than seventy figures, but is cold and artificial. *Daniele da Volterra* is said also to have undertaken some of the paintings on the external walls of the Roman palaces —a mode of decoration which in his time was much in fashion. Subjects from the history of Judith, painted in chiaroscuro, which still embellish the façade of the Massimo Palace, are ascribed to him; they are clever works, but deficient in true inward energy.

CHAPTER XVII.

OTHER FLORENTINE MASTERS.

BESIDES *Leonardo da Vinci* and *Michael Angelo*, several other painters appeared in Florence whose art, without attaining the sublimity of those two great men, partakes of the perfec-

* Outlines in Landon's 'Vies et Œuvres,' &c., Daniele Ricciarelli. In the sacristy of the Duomo at Lucca there is a figure of S. Petronilla said to be by him in his early time, simple and graceful, and more in the spirit of the masters of the first part of the sixteenth century than his later works.

tion of the 'cinque-cento.' Chief among these is *Baccio della Porta*, known as *Fra Bartolommeo*. He appears to have been born at Florence of humble parents in 1475, and was placed in the workshop of *Cosimo Rosselli*, as early as 1484, where his subsequent friend and partner, *Mariotto Albertinelli*, was his young comrade.* *Fra Bartolommeo* was one of the most successful votaries of the then newly introduced art of oil-painting, and he and *Andrea del Sarto* may be considered the best colourists of the Florentine school. It is evident that he derived but little, if any, of the chief excellence of his art from *Cosimo Rosselli*. Although as a colourist a true outcome of the Florentine school, he may have profited by the examples of Flemish oil-painting, then existing in Florence, and especially by the splendid triptych of *Van der Goes*, formerly in the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova at Florence, and still belonging to that Institution, where, as it will be seen, he worked with his fellow-pupil *Mariotto Albertinelli*. The blackness frequently apparent in his pictures probably arose from his use of printers' ink and bone-black, in order to obtain the strongest contrasts, a practice in which he was followed by *Francia Bigio*. Much of his force and roundness, as well as the charming taste which characterises him, is traceable to the influence of *Leonardo*. *Fra Bartolommeo* possessed an exquisite sense of grace and beauty; his compositions are dignified and symmetrical, and his draperies have much grandeur of lines. In this may be seen a corroboration of Vasari's assertion that he was the first who used a wooden-lay figure with joints, those previously introduced by *Lorenzo di Credi* and *Leonardo* having been of plaster. His landscape backgrounds are harmonious and poetic, yet true to nature, showing a great advance in this respect upon previous painters.† But the circle in which he moved was limited, and in the conception of grand religious subjects he neither reaches that power of conception nor intensity of feeling which belongs to the highest walk of art.

* For an account of the family of *Fra Bartolommeo*, and a chronological list of his works, see Milanesi's commentary on the life of the painter in Sansoni's 'Vasari,' vol. iv.

† See Gilbert's 'Landscape in Art,' p. 246.

His favourite compositions are generally simple Madonnas, surrounded by Angels, but he renders them imposing by splendid architecture and a skilful disposition of the groups. In these pictures he delights to introduce boy-angels, sometimes seated and playing on instruments, sometimes hovering around the Virgin, supporting her mantle, or the canopy of the throne itself. The youthful feelings of *Fra Bartolommeo* were strongly enlisted in the doctrines of Savonarola, to whom he was much attached; and the fate of the great Reformer in 1498 is believed to have led to his entering the Dominican order in 1500 in the Convent of S. Domenico, at Prato. He was then already distinguished as a painter, for from 1498 to 1499 he laboured at his first work of importance—a fresco of the Last Judgment, in the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova, Florence (see woodcut). Here he appears as the diligent student of the finest qualities of the art of *Masaccio*, as the worthy follower of *Leonardo*'s "modern manner," and in the upper part of the composition, the arrangement of which evidently influenced the design of the 'Disputa,' as the precursor of *Raphael*. The lower part of this fresco is known to have been completed by *Mariotto Albertinelli*. It was detached from the wall, and placed in an open court of the Hospital, where it was fast perishing. It has now been transferred to canvas, but not before the lower part had been almost entirely destroyed, and is in the collection of pictures belonging to the hospital.

After the entry of *Fra Bartolommeo* into the Convent of S. Marco some years seem to have elapsed without any recorded exercise of his brush—a fact attributed partly to his new vocation.* The revival of his pictorial activity was simultaneous with the reputation of *Leonardo*'s and *Michael Angelo*'s cartoons for the Council Hall, which doubtless penetrated the convent walls, and also with the arrival of the

* It has been ascertained that the picture of the Last Judgment was undertaken after the execution of Savonarola. The interval of inactivity cannot therefore be ascribed to his grief for the fate of his friend, and as little to the supposed condemnation of art on the part of the Reformer, who, though he is reported to have inveighed against nudities, is now known to have encouraged the practice of art in his convent "as a better resource than that of mendicancy."

THE LAST JUDGMENT a fresco by Fra Bartolommeo and Albertinelli in S. Maria Nuova at Florence

youthful *Raphael*, who came to Florence in 1504. No master competed more numerously or more gracefully with that great painter in subjects of the Madonna and Child than *Fra Bartolommeo*. Beautiful specimens of the first resumption, as it is believed, of his pencil, are seen in minute oil-paintings, but a few inches high, in the Uffizi—originally the outer and inner sides of shutters to a shrine—representing the Nativity and the Presentation, and the two parts of the Annunciation; the last-named in chiaroscuro. To this time, also, belongs the Vision of St. Bernard, now in the Florence Academy, which, though seen to disadvantage under the usual conditions of injury and restoration, is interesting to compare with the same subject by *Filippino Lippi* in the Badia. Another masterpiece of the same time shows the influence of *Fra Angelico*'s works in the same convent—the subject being the Pilgrims on their way to Emmaus, in a lunette above the refectory door, where he directly imitates the composition and emulates the spiritual feeling of his predecessor.*

In 1508 *Fra Bartolommeo* undertook a journey to Venice, where the admiration of his art was acknowledged by a commission from the monks of Murano for an altar-piece This represented the First Person of the Trinity surrounded by Cherubim and Seraphim, and adored below by the Magdalen and St. Catherine of Siena. It now hangs on the altar to the left of the portal in the church of S. Romano, at Lucca. By this time—1509—the painter and *Mariotto Albertinelli*, his early friend, had entered into a formal partnership of art; not a rare arrangement at a time when every great master had his scholars or inferior collaborators in the necessary labour of large works. This partnership continued harmoniously, lasting till 1512. Some of the pictures in which the hands of both are apparent, have the monogram of a cross, for the Convent of S. Mark, with two interlaced rings for the two artists. In the same year—1509—an altar-piece in the chapel of the Sanctuary, in the Cathedral of Lucca, was produced. It represents the Virgin and Child enthroned, with two Angels floating

* Published in chromolithography by the Arundel Society.

above holding the Crown and Veil over her head, and the Baptist and St. Stephen on either side. This is one of the finest examples of the master. To this period also belongs the Virgin and Child between four Saints, in the church of S. Marco, Florence, which is much darkened and injured, but highly Raphaelesque in feeling.* The small Holy Family (see woodcut) now at Panshanger, an exquisite specimen of the painter's grace, is also of that time. A 'Marriage of St. Catherine,' dated 1511, and signed in a form usual with the *Frate*, "Orate pro pictore Bartholomĕ Florĕe or. præ." (ordinis prædicatoris), is now in the Louvre. The painter here assumes a more vigorous and masculine character, for, while the Madonna is of the gentlest type, the Saints are more stern than before, his drapery larger, and his foreshortening more skilful. A weak repetition of this altar-piece, by the hand of his assistant, *Fra Paolino* of Pistoia, is in the Florence Academy. A grand Madonna and Child, with two Saints, in the church of S. Caterina at Pisa, appertains, like the foregoing, to the period of the partnership with *Mariotto*, and bears the monogram of the cross and two rings. This picture has been much repainted, having been injured by fire in the seventeenth century, and is, moreover, placed in so bad a light over an altar that it can with difficulty be seen. But his grandest creation, in company with *Mariotto*, is the Marriage of the two SS. Catherine, with the date 1512, now in the Pitti (see woodcut), in which his stately, symmetrical, and pyramidal form of composition is combined, in the figures of the Madonna and Child and Angels, with the most flowing and sprightly grace. Unfortunately the colours in it have become heavy and black. Of the same class of grandeur is an unfinished altar-piece, called a 'Concezione,' in the Uffizi, representing the patron saints of Florence, of which little more than the outlines and preparations in brown are given, but showing a force of hand inferior to no other painter. It was intended for that same council chamber in the Palazzo Vecchio for which *Leonardo* and *Michael Angelo* had laboured, though by a singular fatility all three masters

* According to Vasari, mistaken for a *Raphael* by *Pietro da Cortona*.

THE MARRIAGE OF S. CATHERINE OF SIENA, an altarpiece by Fra Bartolommeo, in the Pitti at Florence

THE HOLY FAMILY. An unpublished by Sir Baptist Jones, in Earl Dunmore's collection at Pantham.

failed to fulfil their task. The incomplete state of this work is attributable partly to the dissolution of the partnership with *Mariotto*, and also to intervals of bad health. It was in 1514 that the *Frate* removed for change of air to the country hospital belonging to the Dominicans, at Pian di Mugnone. Here he exercised his brush in various fresco works, one alone of which, a Madonna and Child of infinite grace, and recalling the 'Madonna della Sedia,' has survived. This composition, with slight alterations, he repeated in the Cappella del Giovanato in S. Marco, which through many injuries, still shows one of his most beautiful types. The 'Madonna of the Hermitage' at St. Petersburg is another version of this composition, with the addition of four winged Amorini, but restorations have rendered it very opaque. Whether the *Frate*'s visit to Rome was previous to this country sojourn remains uncertain. It appears probable that it took place after 1514, the object of it being stated to have been a desire to see the works of *Michael Angelo* and *Raphael*, the last-named master being still living. He there commenced the figures of the Apostles Peter and Paul; but being, it is supposed, overtaken by illness, he left one of the figures (St. Peter) to be completed by the hand of *Raphael*.* Both are in the Quirinal.

In 1515 *Fra Bartolommeo* was in the full exercise of his brush. To this time belongs his largest work, the 'Madonna della Misericordia,' formerly in the church of S. Romano, but now in the public gallery, at Lucca, where the Virgin stands alone, on a pedestal, looking up to the Glorified Redeemer above, while she intercedes for the numerous worshippers—forty-four in number—gathered beneath her mantle. These

* "Of the two Apostles the head and hands of St. Peter are evidently by *Raphael*, and those portions are much more solid than the flesh tints in St. Paul. . . . *Raphael*, who must have found it difficult in the midst of his avocations to fulfil his promise to his friend, evidently executed his task in haste, but, far from being disadvantageous, this has afforded a striking proof of his mastery in the management of oil colours. . . . The execution is as bold as that of the later Venetians. Had *Raphael* oftener executed oil-paintings entirely with his own hand in his later time, we should, no doubt, have seen a more obvious result of that dexterity which his practice in fresco and knowledge of form must have given him." 'Materials for the History of Oil Painting,' by Sir C. L. Eastlake, vol. ii. p. 186.

figures include individuals of every class—the m
ecclesiastic, the aged, the youthful—with groups of w
children of great beauty, of one of which our wood
a specimen. This work, with those already mentioned
public gallery and in the church of S. Martino, ren
a place of attraction for the study of *Fra Bartolom*
'Madonna della Misericordia' has, however, been r
injury and restoration to a state which scarcely j
great reputation. The small picture of the Annunciation
the Louvre belongs to the same mature period; also
prophets Isaiah and Job, the last the least a
and a spirited sketch of the First Person of the Trinity,
with two Angels, in the Uffizi. Among the varied
of the *Frate*'s power in the Pitti, are the grandly-d
celebrated colossal figure of St. Mark (see woodcut), the eyes
of which have been injudiciously touched by a rest
so-called 'Salvator Mundi,' or the Resurrection of Our
Lord, with four dignified figures of the Evangelists; the
large 'Madonna del Baldacchino,' a cold picture, in which,
as in several of his works, the painter, in aiming at
Leonardesque force, was betrayed into blackness; a Pietà
which, although greatly injured, retains an imperishable
beauty, pathos, and power of drawing, marking it as the
highest realisation of the art of the cinque-cento; and lastly,
a small Holy Family. The *Frate* also is known to have
executed a Holy Family for Agnolo Doni, supposed to be
the one now existing in the Corsini Palace at Rome, with a
charming landscape.

Few pictures give a finer idea of the master than the
Presentation in the Temple, now in the Vienna picture
Gallery, with the figure of Simeon standing with unparalleled
dignity (see woodcut). The shortness of the figures is,
however, a defect, and the picture has been deprived of its
harmonious colouring by over-cleaning. The Assumption
was also a favourite subject with the master: a fine
formerly at Prato, is now in the great saloon of the
Museum. Another has been for centuries at
These complete his larger works. Sketches
paintings, the latter bearing partly the stamp of

From the Madonna della Misericordia by Fra Bartolommeo
in the Pitti Gallery, Florence.

E. WILLIAMS

THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE: by Fra Bartolommeo.
in the Vienna Gallery.

THE VISITATION, by Mariotto Albertinelli in the Gallery of the Uffizi, Flor

Albertinelli, partly that of *Fra Paolino*, are scattered in various collections.* Finally, five of the eight portraits of Dominican friars in lunettes, in the lower dormitory of the convent of S. Mark (Florence), though much injured, one of them even with bayonet thrusts, are genuine examples of his hand.

Fra Bartolommeo died at Florence in 1517, at the early age of forty-two.

Mariotto Albertinelli, already mentioned as the early comrade and subsequently the partner of *Fra Bartolommeo*, was born in 1474. It has rarely occurred that a painter has so entirely taken on himself the manner of another. He acknowledged the same standards of art and used the same technical processes as his friend. He closely imitated his feeling, and worked upon his designs; so that there is no wonder he was called in his own time a second *Fra Bartolommeo*, and that connoisseurs have since differed as to which part of a conjointly executed picture belongs to him. It is only when *Mariotto* stands alone that the less pure feeling which pervades his works is apparent. And this even cannot be said of his masterpiece—the Visitation—in the Uffizi (woodcut). This picture was painted in 1503, before the friar had resumed the brush. The arrangement of the two figures is natural and noble, the drawing and expression excellent, while the colouring vies in mastery with the best works of the period.

A circular Holy Family by him, in the Pitti, of brilliant colouring, recalls the qualities both of *Leonardo* and *Lorenzo di Credi*. A picture (signed and dated 1506), now in the Louvre, of the Madonna standing on a pedestal with the Child in her arms, giving the benediction to SS. Jerome and Zenobio, is full of fine feeling.† An Annunciation by *Mariotto*, in the Academia at Florence, is said to be the result of various experiments on his part to obtain effects of light and shade.

* In the Borghese, Sciarra, and Colonna Collections at Rome, in the Vienna picture gallery, in that of Geneva and elsewhere, there are pictures attributed to *Fra Bartolommeo* alone, which were partly executed by *Albertinelli*.

† A second picture in the Louvre—Christ appearing to the Magdalen—attributed to *Albertinelli*, is more probably by *Fra Bartolommeo*.

He also is known to have devoted much time in the endeavour to improve oil mediums, with a view of producing the utmost possible force and relief—the taste which *Leonardo* had introduced. This aim may account for a lucidity and brilliancy of colour in portions of his last-named works which may be said to be one of their distinctive features, while other parts have so blackened as to throw the picture out of harmony. Of this defect an altar-piece of the Madonna with two kneeling Saints, also in the Academia, is an example. A 'Trinity' in the same collection is powerful in colour and finely modeled. Two small and beautiful pictures at Castle Howard—the Fall, and the Sacrifice of Isaac—which have borne successively the names of *Raphael* and *Francia*, are now pronounced to be first-rate specimens of *Mariotto's* rivalship with *Fra Bartolommeo*. An Assumption in the Berlin Museum, a joint production with the *Frate*, is an instance of the difficulty of distinguishing their respective hands. The opinion that the lower part was attributable to *Albertinelli*, and the upper to the *Frate*, which had long prevailed, has now been with probable justice reversed by Dr. Waagen.† An Annunciation at Munich with SS. Sebastian and Ottillia, with much of the pious sentiment of his friend and partner, is exclusively his own finished work, but has been much repainted. In the Manfredini collection, belonging to the Seminario Patriarcale at Venice, there is a 'Deposition from the Cross' by him.

Like *Fra Bartolommeo*, *Albertinelli* occasionally painted small pictures in oil, almost with the minuteness of a miniature. A beautiful example is in the Poldi-Pezzoli collection at Milan—a triptych with the Virgin and Child in the centre, SS. Catherine and Barbara on the inner sides of the wings, and the Annunciation in grisaille on the outer, dated 1500, quite Flemish in character.‡ *Albertinelli* is seen as a

* Probably, as in the case of *Fra Bartolommeo*, from the use of printer's ink and bone-black, see ante, p. 445.

† See Catalogue of Berlin Museum.

‡ This triptych was, at one time, attributed to *Raphael*, and by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to *Fra Bartolommeo*. The expulsion of Adam and Eve, a picture formerly in the possession of a Roman dealer, ascribed by the same writers to *Raphael*, is a youthful work by *Albertinelli*.

THE CRUCIFIXION: A fresco by Fra Paolino in S. Spirito di Siena.

fresco painter in a 'Crucifixion,' signed and dated, at the Certosa near Florence.

According to Vasari, *Albertinelli* was at one time so disgusted with the life of an artist that he took to keeping a tavern, for the purpose of escaping from criticism, and hearing "no more of muscles, foreshortenings, and perspective." This is supposed to have occurred on the dissolution of his partnership with the *Frate*. That dissolution, however, neither weakened their friendship, nor the tavern life his love for art. He is known to have resumed the brush, and to have made a journey to Rome, whence he returned to Florence suffering from an illness which ended his life in 1515.

Another coadjutor of *Fra Bartolommeo* of an inferior class was *Fra Paolino da Pistoia*, (b. 1490—d. 1547)—subsequently a Dominican monk in S. Marco. His works bear that superficial resemblance to *Fra Bartolommeo* which have led to their being catalogued in some galleries under his name. This is to be explained by the fact that he inherited drawings and designs by his master, and worked them up into pictures. The 'Pietà' in the Accademia, Florence, already referred to, and an 'Assumption of the Virgin' in the same collection, and various altar-pieces in Pistoia, are examples. A 'Crucifixion' by him in the church of S. Spirito at Siena long bore the name of *Fra Bartolommeo*, of whom it exaggerates the forms and vulgarises the sentiment (see woodcut).

After the death of *Fra Paolino* the designs of the greater master fell into the hands of a Dominican nun, *Plautilla Nelli*, who also traded upon them in a feeble and sentimental style.

There are works by the *Frate*, as well as by *Albertinelli*—or perhaps by both—which bear evidence of the assisting hand of *Bugiardini* and of *Francia Bigio*, who, with *Innocenzo da Imola* and *Pontormo*, were scholars in the atelier of *Albertinelli*.

It must here be remembered that it requires all the present advance in connoisseurship to discriminate the work of artists who painted after a joint-stock fashion, not only in the same atelier, but on the same picture. For it is a patent

fact, that when the art of Italian painting was at its highest elevation, it partook of all the commercial conditions of trade. It is only natural, therefore, that the greater names, those of the head partners, which have survived, should have been appropriated for every picture which bears the character of the firm.

Giuliano Bugiardini, (b. 1475—d. 1554) studied in the garden of the Medici, where he became the friend of the youthful *Michael Angelo*. He attained no great excellence, but so far caught feebly and superficially the character of the great period that his works, in times when a great master's name was given to all who imitated his style or borrowed his designs, have been catalogued in galleries under the highest designations. He signs himself "Jul. Flor." (Florentinus); and this, with the help of a Michaelangelesque design, has been twisted into "Jul. Ro.," or *Giulio Romano*. His figures are short; his heads of infants over large; the mouth, in all, wide, and with heavy upper lip. There are a Madonna and Child by him in the Uffizi; a Marriage of St. Catherine, and two others, in the public gallery of Bologna; a St. John the Baptist, signed, in the church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie in the same city, ignorantly ascribed to a painter named *d'Adda*, of whom no traces have been found; and a Nativity at Berlin with four Saints. His most important work is the Martyrdom of St. Catherine, in the Cappella Rucellai in the church of S. Maria Novella, Florence, of which the composition is assigned to *Michael Angelo*. A picture in the Vienna Gallery representing the Abduction of Dinah, is stated by Vasari to be the joint production of *Bugiardini* and *Fra Bartolommeo*.

Francesco di Cristoforo Bigi, commonly called *Francia Bigio** (b. 1482—d. 1525) is a master who shows the same floating influences of the day. He studied under *Mariotto Albertinelli*, and was the friend and coadjutor of *Andrea del Sarto*. In a Cassone picture in the Uffizi, representing the Temple of Hercules, he introduces a number of small figures

* His signature on a picture in the National Gallery is FRA C P—i.e., 'Franciscus Christopheri pinxit.' He was the son of a weaver of Milan, called Cristofano di Francesco d'Antonio.

in various costumes, some of which he appears to have borrowed from *Albert Dürer*'s engravings. By him, in the same collection, is a Virgin and Child between the Baptist and Job; in the Pitti, a 'Calumny of Apelles;' and in the Turin Gallery, an Annunciation, with the First Person of the Trinity, accompanied by Angels, and an architectural background. *Andrea del Sarto* having been called away to France while painting the celebrated series of frescoes in the cloisters of the Scalzi at Florence, *Francia Bigio* was invited to continue it, and before *Andrea*'s return, executed two subjects—the Baptist receiving he Blessing of his Parents before his departure, a simple but very pleasing composition, and his first Meeting with the youthful Christ in the wilderness. In the court of the church of the SS. Annunziata he painted the Marriage of the Virgin. The monks uncovered this work before it was finished, which so enraged the artist that he gave the head of the Virgin some blows with a hammer, the traces of which still remain, and was with difficulty prevented from destroying the whole. In all these works he appears as a successful imitator of his friend *Andrea del Sarto*. The 'Madonna del Pozzo,' in the tribune of the Uffizi—a pretty picture, still catalogued as a *Raphael*—partakes of the character of *Francia Bigio*, to whom it has been attributed.

Francia Bigio also gave himself, with much success, to portrait painting, various specimens of which have gone by the names of *Raphael* and *Andrea del Sarto*. The portrait of a young man, with his elbow on a ledge or parapet, in the Louvre (No. 372), attributed to the former, is now doubtfully ascribed to *Francia Bigio*, but is more probably by *Ridolfo Ghirlandajo*. Other portraits put the question beyond doubt, by the fact that the monogram "F. B." and date are upon them; such as the one of a youth, in a black cap with a glove in his right hand, in the Pitti; the half-length of the steward of Pier-Francesco de' Medici, in the state drawing-room at Windsor Castle, ascribed to *Andrea del Sarto;* that of a man in the Berlin Museum; and, lastly, an excellent example in the National Gallery—a young man with the Cross of Malta on his breast.

Andrea d'Agnolo, called *Andrea del Sarto*,* from his father's trade as a tailor, was born in 1486, and died in 1531. He represents another phase of mature Florentine art, which is marked by fine colour, a splendid execution and a grand air, though devoid of the earnestness of *Fra Bartolommeo*. He rises occasionally to great dignity, but is realistic in his types, especially in his female heads, which are merely the generalisation of a rather ignoble individual. *Andrea del Sarto* was bred in the school of *Piero di Cosimo*, and preserved some of the peculiarities of his master in the landscape backgrounds of his small pictures; but, under the influence of *Leonardo* and *Michael Angelo*, he soon overstepped these limits. While the delicate modeling and chiaroscuro of his forms in his best examples, and his "sfumato" manner recalls *Leonardo*, the airiness and transparency of his colour and sense of atmosphere go beyond *Fra Bartolommeo* on the road to *Correggio*. In the realistic qualities of art he stands on high ground; but when he approaches the ideal and profound, he assumes a stereotyped expression.

Like other great Italian painters, *Andrea del Sarto* was an accomplished artist at a very early age. His precocity was extraordinary. He was scarcely twenty when he commenced the beautiful frescoes in the entrance court of the Church of the SS. Annunziata (Florence), which are among the finest of his productions. It is known, from the date inscribed upon the last of them, that they were completed in 1510. *Alesso Baldovinetti* had already commenced the series by his 'Nativity;' and *Cosimo Rosselli* had followed him, with the subject of San Filippo Benizzi entering the order. *Andrea* continued the history of this Saint in five compartments. These compositions are in some parts very simple and severe in execution, but have an expression of real dignity which is rarely found in his other works. One of their peculiar features are the beautiful landscape backgrounds. The fourth picture is remarkable, both as regards its com-

* His family name was not *Vannucchi*, as generally assumed by writers on art. His monogram consists, not of an A and a V intertwined, but of two A's, for *Andrea d'Agnolo*. See Milanesi's commentary on *Andrea*'s life, Sansoni's 'Vasari,' vol. v.

position and the animation with which the story is told; it represents the Death of the Saint, and a Boy restored to Life. The fifth excels in the harmony of its light and shade and colouring; the subject is Children healed by touching the Garment of the Saint. Some time later *Andrea* painted, in the same court, the Birth of the Virgin, which is one of those stately scenes with which *Ghirlandajo* first invested domestic life, and which are peculiarly Italian (see woodcut). The most developed forms and principles of art are seen in this wall-painting, which is also an instance of the highest level, in point of execution, attained by fresco. Indeed, the decline of that art may be said to date from a system which substituted an over-variety of colour and effect for the severe simplicity of each transmitted from *Masaccio* to *Ghirlandajo*. In an Adoration of the Kings in the same court, the energy of the male figures seems purposely contrasted with the staid beauty of the women in the last-mentioned fresco. Among the followers in the procession are portraits of contemporary characters, with that of the painter himself, a man of regular features, but with that absence of refinement which suggests the same absence in his works. These frescoes were completed in 1514.

In the same year he commenced another series of frescoes in the cloisters of the company of St. John the Baptist, called the Scalzi, at Florence, which occupied him for several years. All those now remaining are in chiaroscuro, and, with the exception of some allegorical figures, represent the history of the Saint. Those first painted, in partnership with *Francia Bigio*, were the Baptism of Christ, the Preaching of John, and the Baptism of the People. With the dry, angular manner of the old school, these already unite pleasing and correct drawing, and dignity of character. The rest of these paintings belong to a later period of the artist's practice, extending to 1526, and are of unequal merit. The last executed—the Birth of the Baptist—is, however, a simple, effective composition, with very beautiful figures.*

* Thausing in his life of *Albert Dürer* (vol. 2, p. 87) has shown that *Andrea del Sarto* in these frescoes, has copied whole figures from that German Master.

A fresco painted by him in 1525, in the great cloisters of the church of the SS. Annunziata, where, in the entrance court, he had executed his first wall-paintings, is a masterpiece, and one of the most admired and popular works of the period. It is a lunette over a door, and is known as the 'Madonna del Sacco,' from the sack on which Joseph leans, seated by the Virgin and Child—a simple composition of extreme beauty and grand effect, unfortunately seriously damaged by recent restoration (see woodcut).

But before we pass to *Andrea*'s easel-pictures another important fresco must be mentioned—that in the refectory of the convent of S. Salvi, near Florence, representing the Last Supper, which he was commissioned to paint in 1519. In the usual arrangement of the figures, it resembles *Leonardo da Vinci*'s renowned composition, though not to be compared with that work in the profound conception of the subject. The division of the groups is peculiar; the single figures are finely characterised, having the aspect of portraits, and of fine colour.

The easel-pictures by *Andrea* are numerous. They are principally confined to the simple circle of Madonnas, Holy Families, and similar subjects, in which his peculiar qualities are freely developed. Pictures of this kind, belonging to his early time, are rare. An Annunciation, which he painted for the convent of S. Gallo, and which is now in the Pitti Palace, shows a finer and deeper earnestness than is usual with him. In some of his works, as in a second Annunciation in the Pitti (No. 27), the influence of *Michael Angelo* is visible—an influence which can hardly be said to have operated favourably on the style of *Andrea*. The most beautiful example of the artist's own manner is the 'Madonna di S. Francesco,' in the tribune of the Uffizi at Florence. The Virgin with the Child stands on a low altar, supported by two boy-angels; St. Francis and St. John the Evangelist are beside her; the expression of both is serene and dignified. Nothing can exceed the harmonious fusion of tones in which the outlines of this work are almost obliterated. Among the altar-pieces now in the Pitti, the so-called 'Disputa della SS. Trinità' is peculiarly fitted to exhibit *Andrea*'s fine sense of colour. It repre-

THE MADONNA DEL SACCO: a fresco by A. del Sarto, in the SS. Annunziata at Florence.

sents a group of six Saints. St. Augustin is speaking with great inspiration of manner; St. Dominick is being convinced by his reason, St. Francis by his heart; St. Lawrence is looking earnestly out of the picture; while St. Sebastian and the Magdalen are kneeling in front, devoutly listening. We here find the most admirable contrasts of action and expression, combined with the highest beauty of execution. About the year 1516 *Andrea* painted a Dead Christ with Angels, which made its way to the Court of Francis I. The reception of this work led to the commission of a Madonna picture, and in 1518 the painter was induced to transfer his atelier to Paris. Here the fine 'Charity,' still in the Louvre, in which characteristics of *Michael Angelo* are perceptible, was executed; also the grand and powerfully coloured 'Pietà,' in the picture gallery at Vienna. It is believed that *Andrea*'s wife, Lucretia del Fede, the model for his Madonnas, but not a desirable helpmate in other respects, whom he had left in Florence, induced him to ask the King for leave of absence. This was not only granted, but funds for the purchase of works of art in Italy intrusted to him. *Andrea* is stated to have squandered the money; at all events, he did not return to Paris. He was now employed in Florence by Ottaviano de' Medici, in conjunction with *Francia Bigio* and *Pontormo*, to decorate the country palace of Poggio a Caiano; *Andrea* undertaking the subject of Cæsar receiving Tribute. This is a lively and picturesque scene, with fine buildings, and with Cæsar seen above a flight of steps which various figures are ascending, bearing their tribute of animals and birds—sheep, parrots, a monkey, &c.

The two small pictures from the life of Joseph, with numerous figures, now in the Pitti, are believed to belong to 1523, and are choice examples of his art. They formed part of the decoration for a nuptial apartment; the other portions being painted by *Granacci*, *Bacchiacca*, and *Pontormo*. Three equally beautiful works by *Andrea*, representing the same subject, are in the collection of Lord Cowper at Panshanger.*

* For a curious history of this series, see Vasari's 'Life of Pontormo.' The picture by *Bacchiacca* is now in the Borghese Gallery, Rome.

A story told of *Andrea* by Vasari worthily succeeds that of his dishonesty to Francis I., and illustrates the manners of the time. The celebrated portrait by *Raphael* of Leo X. between the two Cardinals, belonging to Ottaviano de' Medici, now in the Pitti, was coveted by a Duke of Mantua, who obtained authority from Clement VII. to appropriate it. Ottaviano, however, was not inclined to part with so fine a work, but instead of disputing the point with his Holiness he met force with fraud, and employed *Andrea* to make a copy, which was sent to the Duke of Mantua as the original. This copy, when at Mantua, deceived even *Giulio Romano*, who had taken part in the execution of the original. It has been long in the Gallery at Naples, and has given rise to much altercation as to which is the original picture. The two have not yet undergone the test of being seen side by side; meanwhile modern connoisseurship detects the hand of the Florentine master, and the undefinable something which tells a copy from an original, in the work at Naples. In 1524 *Andrea* executed the fine 'Pietà' now in the Pitti, and other works which are missing.

In later years *Andrea*'s facility of brush tempted him to increasing mannerism and emptiness. Works by him of that period of his life are not uncommon in collections, and scarcely afford an adequate conception of his powers. A fine portrait of a young man by *Andrea*, in the National Gallery, is supposed, but erroneously, to be his own. It shows a face of more beauty than refinement. A genuine portrait of him—a fragment in fresco—is in the Uffizi.

Jacopo Carrucci, commonly called *Pontormo* or *Puntormo* (b. 1494—d. 1557), was a scholar of *Andrea del Sarto*. He was employed with his master in decorating the outer Court of the SS. Annunziata at Florence, and executed there the Visitation, which, for the grandeur of the figures and beauty of the colouring, is worthy of *Andrea* himself. He painted the predella of an Annunciation by *Andrea*, now in the Pitti, and joined him in the decorative works which hailed the elevation of Leo X. to the Papacy. The picture by him in the National Gallery—'Joseph and his Kindred'—is greatly extolled by Vasari, who declares it to be his best. Two simi-

lar subjects—for which he seems to have had a predilection —are in the Pitti. His portraits are truthful and dignified. One of his finest is that of a Cardinal in the Borghese Palace (Rome), there ascribed to *Raphael*; another, of a Medici, is in the Uffizi. An excellent likeness of *Baccio Bandinelli* the sculptor, by his hand, is in the possession of Signor Morelli, at Milan. The full-length portrait of a boy in the National Gallery, of great delicacy and refinement, is attributed to *Pontormo*.* In the Berlin Museum a portrait of *Andrea del Sarto* is ascribed to him. His works often pass under the name of his master.

Two other inferior scholars and assistants of *Andrea del Sarto* were *Jacone* and *Domenico Puligo*. Numerous Holy Families by the latter are seen in the Borghese and Colonna Palaces (Rome) and in the Pitti. There is also an excellent portrait by him in Lord Cowper's collection at Panshanger.

Giovambattista, son of Jacopo di Guaspara, known as *il Rosso*, and *Rosso Fiorentino* from his birthplace, was born in 1494, and died in France in 1541. He was employed in the court of the SS. Annunziata with *Andrea del Sarto* and other artists before-mentioned. A certain fantastic manner peculiar to this painter distinguishes him from the rest of the Florentines. In the galleries of Florence, and in other parts of Italy, we find pictures by his hand; upon the whole, however, they are scarce even there. A large Madonna with Saints, in the manner of *Andrea del Sarto*, is in the Pitti Palace. An altar-piece—a Virgin and Child, with two saints and two boy-angels—belongs to the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova (Florence), and another, with the Marriage of the Virgin, is in the church of S. Lorenzo. *Il Rosso* spent the most active period of his life in France (under the name of *Maitre Roux*), in the service of Francis I. superintending the establishments of the Palace at Fontainebleau. An 'Entombment' by him in the Louvre is coldly antique and very mannered. In the same gallery is a charming little picture by him, formerly attributed to *Perino del*

* Signor Frizzoni (L'Arte Italiana nella Galleria Nazionale di Londra, p. 21) attributes this portrait to *Bronzino*; Dr. Richter, in his notes on the National Gallery, to *Salviati*.

Vaga—the rival songs of the Muses and the Pierides on Mount Parnassus.

Ridolfo Ghirlandajo (b. 1483; d. 1561) was the son of *Domenico Ghirlandajo*, who was his first master. On his father's death he probably passed into the studio of *Granacci*, *Domenico*'s favourite scholar, and gave promise of future excellence which was never fulfilled. Two small pictures in the Florence Academy, altogether in that painter's manner, are ascribed to him. He seems also to have come under the influence of *Piero di Cosimo*, as especially shown in his landscape backgrounds. Later, when about twenty years of age, he formed his manner upon that of *Leonardo*, who had then settled in Florence. He afterwards imitated *Fra Bartolommeo*, and even *Raphael*, in his children; but he excites no strong interest in any form. The National Gallery possesses an early picture by him in his Leonardesque manner, much praised by Vasari—'The Procession to Calvary,' formerly in the Antinori Palace at Florence. Some of the heads in this work are apparently copied or imitated from *Leonardo*. To the same period belongs an attractive 'Annunciation' in the Uffizi (No. 1288), there attributed to *Leonardo* himself; and a fine portrait, said to be of Girolamo Benivieni, in the Torregiani Palace (Florence), also ascribed to that master. A Virgin and Child with St. Elizabeth and the little St. John, in the Berlin Museum, shows the influence of *Fra Bartolommeo*. An altar-piece in the 'Conservatorio' of S. Jacopo di Ripoli, Florence, with the Marriage of St. Catherine and four Saints, life-size, is one of *Ridolfo*'s best works; but his S. Zenobio restoring a boy to life (see woodcut), and the burial of the same Saint, in the Uffizi, are considered his masterpieces. They are remarkable for their force of colour and the fine modeling of the heads. A 'Coronation of the Virgin' in the Louvre is an early and not attractive work by him, executed in 1504. He is seen, like all second-rate masters, to best advantage on a small scale, as in a predella, with five subjects, in the oratory of the Bigallo at Florence.

Ridolfo Ghirlandajo was an excellent portrait-painter, and many of his works of this class pass under higher names

ST. ZENOBIUS RESTORING A BOY TO LIFE; by Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, in the Gallery of the Uffizi, Florence.

than his own. We have already mentioned the one in the Torregiani collection assigned to *Leonardo*. Another by him in the Pitti, of a jeweller (No. 207), is attributed to the same master, and the portrait of a lady in the same collection (No. 229), is doubtfully given to *Raphael*. There is also a fine portrait by him in the Corsini Palace (Florence).

Ridolfo Ghirlandajo was the friend of *Raphael*, and of the same age. His industry won the great master's confidence, who, according to Vasari, employed him to fill in part of the blue drapery of the 'Belle Jardinière;' and also invited him to come to Rome. But *Ridolfo* understood his own merits and interests better than to leave Florence, where there was an immense trade in artistic work to meet the demand for the masquerades, pageants, and other festivities of the Republic, and for the weddings and funerals of the Medici. These transient forms of art all contributed to that facility and convention of hand and composition which, from this time, began to usurp in Florence the thought and reticence of the older masters.

Paolo Zacchi . *Vecchio* to distinguish him from his son) a native of Lucca, is said to have been a pupil of *Ridolfo Ghirlandajo*. He painted at the beginning of the sixteenth century. There are pictures by him of small merit in the public gallery at Lucca. His best work is the portrait of a musician in the Louvre. His son, *Lorenzo di Ferro Zacchia* was an indifferent painter and an engraver.

CHAPTER XVIII.

RAPHAEL.*

IT has been customary to quote, as a tribute to *Raphael*, a rhapsody on the part of Vasari, which from the very

* There are very copious materials for the life of *Raphael*. The most important works on the subject, besides the biography of him in Vasari's Lives, are: Carlo Fea, 'Notizie intorno Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino ed alcune di lui opere,' Roma, 1822; L. Pungileone, 'Elogio storico di Raffo. Santi da Urbino,' Urb. 1829; Quatremère de Quincy, 'Hist. de la Vie et des

exaggeration of its nature, is calculated to excite suspicion of its truth. When also it is taken into account that to Vasari's inaccurate and flippant pen are owing slanders on *Raphael*'s moral character, which no contemporary writer among the many who deplored his loss had mentioned, and which modern investigation may be said to have refuted, we may omit the florid paragraph with which the life of this great man was introduced in a former edition. There was no need to depreciate other painters in order to exalt *Raphael*. The character of his pencil, its versatility and its purity, are sufficient signs of his marvellous endowments. No master has left so many works of the highest rank in art; no other so little that is defective or unattractive. He represents a purity and refinement of feeling and form unattained before and unequalled since, and in the combination of which, with power of hand and grasp of mind, he stands alone. Yet Raphael may be said not to have been so new in his qualities as so perfect. He was, therefore, not a master who could be successfully imitated. He possessed those

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Ouvrages de Raphael,' Paris, 1824, 2nd edition, 1833, translated into Italian, with important notes as 'Istoria della Vita e delle Opere di Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino, del S. Quatremère, &c., voltata in Italiano, corretta, illustrata ed ampliata per cura di Francesco Longhena,' Milano, 1829; 'Rafael als Mensch und Künstler, von G. K. Nagler, München,' 1836, a compilation; others by Braun, Rehberg, Gruyer, &c.; J. D. Passavant, 'Rafael von Urbino u. sein Vater Giovanni Santi,' Leipzig, 1839, 2 vols. with 14 plates, a work which embraces, with critical selection, the previous researches and explains in detail the works of the great painter; 'Italienische Forschungen von C. F. von Rumohr,' vol. iii.; 'Beschreibung der Stadt Rom,' &c.; Passavant, 'Kunstreise durch England und Belgien;' Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Raphael: his life and works,' 2 vols. Murray, 1882; Morelli, 'Italian Masters in German Galleries,' 1883, translated from the German edition published in 1877, in which the critical notice of Raphael is the most important modern contribution to the life of the painter; 'Rafael und Michelangelo, von Anton Springer,' Leipzig, 1878; 'Raphael sa vie, et son œuvre et son temps, par Eugène Muntz,' Paris, 1881; 'Raffaello' di Marco Minghetti, Bologna, 1885.

Outlines in Landon's 'Vies et Œuvres,' &c.:—a great number, but unfortunately not chosen with sufficient discrimination; Bonnemaison, 'Suite d'études calquees et dessinées d'après cinq tableaux de Raphael,' Paris, 1818—very useful as studies; 'The works of Raphael in the Royal Library at Windsor,' edited by C. Ruland, 1876, &c.

Catalogues of the Engravings after *Raphael*'s works; 'Nachrichten von Künstlern und Künstsachen,' vol. ii., Leipzig, 1769, p. 315, &c.; 'Catalogue des Estampes gravées d'après Rafael, par Tauriscus Eubœus' (the Arcadian designation of Count Lepel), Francfort sur le M., 1819. &c.

evenly balanced and exquisite qualities which admit not of the more, and vanish with the less. Just what he deepest felt and best executed in his *chefs-d'œuvre* delights us: nothing stronger, nothing weaker. He stood exactly on that eminence which leads downwards, on either hand, to insipidity or exaggeration. His refinement became weakness in some of his followers—his strength, coarseness in others; so that among some of the most unattractive mannerists may be quoted several who attempted to walk in his steps. As compared with his great predecessors, *Leonardo da Vinci* and *Michael Angelo*, his distinguishing excellence may be summed up as that of an harmonious beauty of expression, colour, and form; neither so thorough in execution and modeling as the first, nor so original, powerful, and subjective as the second. Like the other greatest masters of this zenith of art, *Raphael*'s powers and activity were not confined to painting. He gave designs for statues, such as those of Jonah and Elias in the Chigi chapel in the church of S. Maria del Popolo (Rome), and of the Boy on a Dolphin.* *Raphael* also fills an important place as an architect, and various buildings in Rome besides St. Peter's and the Villa Medici are connected with his name. Further, by the authority of Leo X., he commenced the investigation and measurement of the remains of ancient Rome, an occupation interrupted by his early death.

Raphael Sanzio was born at Urbino on Friday, 6th April, 1843,† and died at Rome on Good Friday, April 6th, 1520. He was the son of *Giovanni Santi*, a painter already noticed, whose name latinised into *Sanctius*, was in the son's italianised back into *Sanzio*. He lost both parents before he was twelve years of age, after which he was protected and assisted by his maternal uncle, Simone Ciarla. Of his childhood there are no records. He probably received his earliest impression of art from his father, but was too young at

* They were probably modeled and executed in marble by *Lorenzetto*, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Life of Raphael,' vol. ii. ch. 6.

† The date assigned by Vasari to *Raphael*'s birth is 28th March, 1483. and this date has been generally accepted; but it has now been proved to be incorrect. See Alfredo Beaumont, 'Arch. Stor. Ital.' v, ix. part 3rd, 1882, p. 413.

the time of *Giovanni Santi*'s death to have learnt much from him. It has generally been assumed, owing to the inaccurate and misleading statements of Vasari, that *Raphael* was taken to Perugia by his father, to the great grief of his mother, and placed in the school of *Perugino* in 1495, when little more than twelve years old, and that he remained there until about his twentieth year. But there exists documentary evidence to prove that *Giovanni Santi* was at that date at Mantua, that his wife had been dead for about three years, and that until the end of 1499 *Perugino* was not residing permanently in Perugia, and was consequently not likely to have opened a school there, being engaged up to that time in executing works at Florence, Venice, and other cities.* Nor had *Raphael* left Urbino, his name appearing with that of his uncle, *Bartolommeo*, in a legalized document executed there on the 3rd June, 1499, by which he entered into an arrangement with his step-mother, Bernardina. In a similar document of the 13th May in the following year he is represented by his uncle, and consequently appears to have been absent from Urbino.† It is, therefore, probable that either at the end of 1499 or beginning of 1500 he went to Perugia. From whom then did he receive his first artistic education? Signor Morelli has given an answer to the question,‡ which has now been accepted by the most competent critics as removing the difficulties hitherto existing on this subject. He has suggested, and has supported his suggestion by acute criticism and substantial evidence, that *Timoteo Viti* was *Raphael's* first master. We have seen that *Timoteo* left the atelier of *Francesco Francia* in 1495 § for Urbino, where he henceforth resided. He was then twenty-seven years of age; *Raphael* but twelve. It is known that

* In January, 1496, when *Perugino* was wanted to decorate the Cambio in Perugia, he excused himself from beginning the work on the plea that he had commissions to execute at Venice, Fano, and Florence. The Cambio was finished at the end of 1499, or beginning of 1500. See Article by Professor Rossi in the 'Giornale di Erudizione Artistica,' vol. iii. 1874.

† Muntz, '*Raphael*, sa vie,' &c.; and 'Raffaello,' by Signor Minghetti. It is evident that Vasari's account of the early life of *Raphael* is a series of fables.

‡ See his 'Italian Masters in German Galleries.'

§ See ante, p. 371

a lasting friendship was formed between them. To account for a marked similarity of manner between his earliest works and those of *Timoteo*, Vasari has hazarded the statement that the boy *Raphael*, who was just beginning to learn the rudiments of his art, was the master of a man fifteen years his senior and already a finished painter of repute! Others have explained this similarity by suggesting that *Timoteo*, when with *Francia* at Bologna, had seen works by *Raphael* which had so greatly impressed him that he abandoned his first style formed upon that of *Francia*, and adopted that of *Raphael*. But considering the age of the latter, and the fact that no picture by him was seen, or could possibly have been seen, in Bologna until many years after *Timoteo* had left that city, this assumption at once falls to the ground. And how could *Raphael*, then ten or twelve years of age, have had a style? What, therefore, more probable than that the boy *Raphael*, showing a strong disposition to follow the profession of his father, should have been placed by his guardian under a master who had already attained a proficiency, and had acquired reputation, in the art of painting, especially as at that time there was no other painter of any note at Urbino? This supposition is confirmed by the evidence furnished by their respective works. *Timoteo Viti*'s altar-piece in the Brera representing the Virgin and Child with SS. Crescentius and Vitalis* must, Signor Morelli shows, have been painted, as stated by Vasari, soon after his return to Urbino and long before *Raphael*'s departure for Perugia. To a somewhat later period this writer further assigns the painted plates in the Correr Museum at Venice, which he attributes to *Timoteo*.† These works, and the second altar-piece in the Brera—representing the Annunciation with SS. John the Baptist and Sebastian—and the St. Apollonia in the Academy at Urbino, he compares with the earliest known pictures and drawings by *Raphael*, such as the 'Vision of a Knight,' and the pen-and-ink study for it, in the National Gallery, and a sketch of the 'Two Guards at the

* See p. 371, and illustration.

† See ante, p. 373.

Sepulchre,' in the Oxford collection. He points out that in colour, in the expression of the heads, the attitudes of the figures, the forms of the hands, the folds of the drapery, and the landscape, they recall not the manner of *Perugino*, but that of *Timoteo Viti*.* They prove, consequently, that the teachings of the latter first gave a bent to *Raphael's* genius and influenced his first manner.

When, therefore, *Raphael* left Urbino for Perugia in 1499 or at the beginning of 1500, being then between sixteen and seventeen years of age, he had already attained considerable proficiency in his art under the tuition of *Timoteo Viti*, and entered the atelier of *Perugino* rather as an assistant than as a pupil. Of his works before he quitted Urbino, and while he was still with *Timoteo Viti*, few are known. The fresco of the Madonna and Child in his father's house, formerly ascribed to him, is now recognised, as we have stated, to be the work of *Giovanni Santi* himself. A circular picture of a Holy Family in the church of S. Andrea at Urbino, also claimed as an early work of *Raphael*, is partially a copy by an unknown hand from one of his latest pictures. But the St. Michael in the Louvre, painted for Duke Guidobaldo on the back of a chess or draft-board is included by Signor Morelli among the works of his Urbino period. The youthful figure of the archangel, clad in armour, is represented treading on the neck of the dragon and striking at it with his sword. In the dark landscape are seen monsters of every kind, condemned souls plagued by demons, and a burning town, according to the 8th and 23rd books of Dante's 'Inferno.' To the same period belongs the above-mentioned allegory of the 'Vision of a Knight,' with the drawing for it, with punctured outlines from which the picture was traced, in the National Gallery (see illustration). This little picture, of exquisite refinement and grace, represents a youth in armour, lying asleep upon his shield under a laurel, with a female figure on either side—the one in a plain purple robe is offering him a book and a sword, the other, richly dressed, is presenting flowers as symbols of

* 'Italian Masters,' &c., p. 309, &c.

VISION OF A KNIGHT, drawing by Raphael in the National Gallery

the pleasures of life.* Further examples of *Raphael*'s early work is the fine study of a female head and bust in the Uffizi collection of drawings, and of the two guards at Oxford before mentioned.

According to Signor Morelli these pictures and drawings show unquestionably the teaching and influence of *Timoteo Viti*, and have nothing in common with *Perugino*. With respect to the 'Vision of a Knight,' he observes that every connoisseur recognises in "the naïve drawing for it the hand of a boy, of great genius, no doubt, but still of a boy," and that it is reminiscent of *Timoteo Viti* in the landscape—so unlike *Perugino*'s—in the fall of the folds, in the short dress of the female figures, not quite reaching the ankles, in the kerchief tied round their heads (a head-dress peculiar to *Timoteo*), in the broad and somewhat flat hand of the sleeping Knight, and in the roundish form of head in the female figure with the sword.† This drawing has only to be compared with the examples we have given of *Timoteo*'s works—especially the Virgin and Child with SS. Crescentius and Vitalis in the Brera—to prove his influence on the youthful *Raphael*. *Timoteo*'s manner might be called 'Raphaelesque,' were he not the teacher and *Raphael* the pupil. This picture, as we have seen, although described by Vasari as a work of *Timoteo*, long passed under the name of *Raphael*.

Reference may here be made to some drawings and sketches, at one time forming part of, or fastened into, a volume known as 'Raphael's sketch-book,' but now exhibited singly in the Venice Academy. This volume belonged early in this century to a Milanese painter named Bossi, who purchased it from a lady of Parma.‡ He

* Engraved by L. Grüner.

† 'Italian Masters in German Galleries,' p. 320. Signor Morelli calls particular attention to the form of the little toe in *Raphael's* early pictures—as in the 'Sposalizio' in the Brera—which corresponds with that in *Timoteo*'s works, and differs from that in *Raphael's* later productions.

‡ The volume which came into the possession of the Venice Academy is a folio with a binding apparently of the 17th or 18th century, but the paper is of English make, with the name of 'Bates' in the watermark. A label pasted on the back states its contents to be drawings by *Leonardo da Vinci*. It was Bossi who first attributed them to *Raphael*. It may,

invented for it the name of 'Raphael's sketch-book,' which it did not possess before, and unhesitatingly pronounced all the drawings in it to be by that great master. On Bossi's death it was acquired by Count Cicognara for the Venice Academy, of which he was then the Director. It continued to be known by the name which Bossi had given it, and the sketches it contained accepted, without further question, as being by *Raphael*, have furnished innumerable arguments in support of the authenticity of works attributed to him, and of other matters relating to him. The first to subject these drawings to a thorough critical examination and analysis was Signor Morelli, whose knowledge and experience on such matters are unequalled, and the result has been that he has come to the conclusion that two only included in the collection are by *Raphael*, that the greater number are by *Pinturicchio*, and the remainder by other masters—the two by *Raphael* being apparently studies from *Leonardo*'s cartoon of the battle of Anghiara. As his opinion has been accepted by the most competent authorities, we shall not refer to the so-called 'Raphael's sketch-book' in proof of the genuineness of any work attributed to the master.*

Soon after *Raphael* had joined *Perugino* he appears to have abandoned the manner of *Timoteo Viti* for that of the

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however, be argued from Bossi's description of the manner in which he acquired the so-called *Raphael* sketches, that they were originally bound up in a much smaller volume, which, however, has not been preserved. He may have transferred them with others to the folio in which they came to the Academy, but it is scarcely probable that he should have destroyed what he believed to be *Raphael*'s original sketch-book. A certain number (? 52) are upon small sheets of paper of the same size, and probably once formed part of a book containing sketches, studies, and copies of pictures; but of this book, to whomsoever it may have belonged, there is no trace. Others are upon paper of different shapes, make, and quality, and some much larger, as the drawing for the so-called *Raphael* purchased by the Louvre from the late Mr. Morris Moore.

* The present Editor, who has had the advantage of studying the drawings formerly in this volume in company with Signor Morelli, accepts the judgment of that eminent critic. It is, however, right to observe that Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, in their Life of *Raphael*, maintain the genuineness of the 'Sketch book,' and attribute all the drawings it contained to *Raphael*. Signor Morelli, in his 'Italian Masters in German Galleries,' enters fully into this question, and gives a careful analysis of many of the sketches, to which we must refer our readers.

Perugian Master, although the influence of *Timoteo* is frequently apparent even at a much later period of his career. He probably assisted *Perugino* in works upon which that painter was then engaged, but there is no reason to believe that he was employed on the frescoes of the ceiling of the Cambio, in which some critics have fancied they have discovered traces of his hand, but which were finished before his arrival at Perugia.* At this time he may have painted a portrait, believed to be that of *Pinturicchio*, now in the Borghese Gallery, Rome, and there ascribed to Holbein,† and according to some the 'Coronation of the Virgin' in the Vatican. One of the first works to which he affixed his name, probably to show his independance of his master, was the Crucifixion, in Lord Dudley's collection (London), probably painted about 1501. It is, like the preceding, entirely Peruginesque in character, several of the figures, such as the flying angels who catch the blood of Christ in cups, and that of Christ himself, being actually borrowed from *Perugino*, although he already surpasses his master in intelligence and intensity of expression. Another work attributed to *Raphael's* early period, the two sides of a church banner preserved in Città di Castello, one representing the Trinity with SS. Sebastian and Rock, the other the Creation of Eve—so much repainted that scarcely a trace of the original remains—is now believed to be by *Eusebio da S. Giorgio*.‡

Raphael at this time learnt much from *Pinturicchio*, who was then associated with *Perugino* in his atelier, or workshop—of which he was sometimes left in charge—even employing designs by that master for pictures which he painted.

Although *Raphael* thus in his early youth, not yet having full reliance on his own powers, and being of a modest disposition, followed in the footsteps of *Perugino* and *Pinturicchio*, adopted their manner, and even made use of their

* See ante, p. 235.

† Signor Morelli was the first to identify this portrait as a work of *Raphael*, 'It. Masters,' p. 322. And see 'Raffaello,' by Signor Minghetti, p. 49.

‡ Morelli, p. 317, note.

designs, he showed his genius and artistic independence by assimilating their highest qualities without becoming a mere copyist. Whilst his earliest easel-pictures, painted after he had removed from Urbino to Perugia, may be termed Peruginesque, or may show the marked influence of *Pinturicchio*, they have at the same time a character and individuality of their own. They bear the stamp of that tender, enthusiastic sentimentality which is the general characteristic of the Umbrian school, and which may be said to harmonise with the nature of pure and ingenuous youth. The charm of these efforts consists indeed in their being essentially youthful, and yet as containing the germs of that energetic and noble manhood, the absence of which in other Umbrian masters is seen in the insipidity and mannerism into which they degenerate. Specimens, therefore, of this period of *Raphael's* career have a peculiar interest. A few may be mentioned which are tolerably well authenticated. First, some Madonna pictures, of which there are two in the Berlin Museum. In the one, which he took from a drawing by *Pinturicchio*,* the Madonna is reading; the Child on her lap holding a goldfinch in its hand (1).† The attitude of the mother is unaffected and simple; the perfectly oval countenance has an expression of peace and repose—not free, however, from insipidity; the Child is not beautiful; the forms are as yet awkwardly rendered, and the attitude is affected.‡ A second picture in the same gallery, somewhat later, and also from a design by *Pinturicchio*,§ with heads of SS. Francis and Jerome introduced on each side of the Virgin (3), is better. Here, the countenance of the Madonna, who turns affectionately to the Child, is equally tender and gentle as in the other picture, and more free

* Morelli p. 324, note.

† In order to enable the reader to identify each Madonna picture, we add the number corresponding with that in the illustration.

‡ Between these two pictures Passavant places (ii. 14) the small pictures of various predellas: a Baptism of Christ, and a Resurrection, in the Munich Gallery (which are more probably by *Lo Spagna*); an Adoration of the Kings, in the castle of Christiansburg, near Copenhagen; the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel, at one time in Mr. Emerson's possession in London, and others.

§ Morelli, p. 325.

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MADONNAS, by Raphael

1. Berlin Museum.
2. St. Luke painting the Madonna, a fresco picture, Rome.
3. Berlin Museum.
4. Hermitage St. Petersburg.
5. Del Granduca, Florence.

from defects; the figure of the Child is also better drawn, and the heads of the two saints are excellent. The general arrangement is agreeably contrived, and the picture is executed with great delicacy and warmth. Similar to this, but much more finished, is the small circular picture of the Madonna and Child, formerly in the possession of the Conestabile family at Perugia (4), and now at St. Petersburg. The Virgin (a half-figure) stands in a landscape, reading, while the Child in her arms also looks into the book. The head of the Virgin indicates a progressive development of form and expression; the Child, too, is lovely. It may be called a miniature painting of inexpressibly delicate and beautiful execution.*

An important picture of this time (1501–1503), which shows the progress of the young painter, but which is so completely in the manner of *Perugino* that it was long assigned to that master, is the Coronation of the Virgin, painted for the church of S. Francesco at Perugia, in 1502, and now in the Vatican. In the upper part, Christ and the Madonna are enthroned on clouds and surrounded by angels with musical instruments; below, the disciples stand around the tomb, which is filled with flowers. In this lower part of the picture there is a very evident attempt to give the figures greater life, motion, and enthusiastic expression than had been before attempted in the school (for instance, in the beautiful heads of three youths looking upwards), though, owing to the want of complete practical mastery, the effort has not been entirely successful. The Christ is not fortunate in expression, though that of the Virgin is beautiful. This picture was taken to Paris and there transferred from wood

* A copy of this picture is in the Oddi Gallery, Perugia; another by *Sassoferrato* in the Louvre, and others elsewhere. *Raphael* appears to have used for it a drawing by *Perugino*, now at Berlin, where it passes under *Raphael*'s name (Morelli, 'It. Masters,' p. 326), substituting a book for the apple or pomegranate which *Perugino* had originally introduced, and which *Raphael* in transferring the sketch to the panel had copied but afterwards changed. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Life of Raphael', vol. i. p. 172, note. The Madonna formerly in the possession of the Alfani family, Perugia, and included among *Raphael*'s earliest works, is a school picture. Morelli, p. 316; and Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Life of Raphael,' vol. i. p. 92.

to canvas. The landscape is ordinary Peruginesque. The predella was adorned with elegant miniature-like pictures of the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Kings, and the Presentation in the Temple: they are also in the Vatican.*

To this early time also belonged an important picture painted for the church, before mentioned, of S. Trinità at Città di Castello, namely, S. Niccolò of Tolentino standing, treading down Satan, and crowned by the Madonna and St. Augustin; the First Person of the Trinity, surrounded with angels, seen above. This picture remained till 1789 in the church, when it was purchased of the monks by Pius VI. for a considerable sum. It disappeared from the Vatican at the French invasion, and has not been found since. The composition, which is taken from a drawing by *Pinturicchio* in the Wicar collection at Lille, is known by a copy from the original in the Municipal Gallery of Città di Castello. A small picture in the public (Tosi) gallery at Brescia, representing the risen Saviour with the Crown of Thorns, in the act of benediction, charmingly executed and well preserved, and a St. Sebastian in the Pinacoteca of Bergamo, are believed to have been painted by *Raphael* in 1503–4.

In 1504 *Pinturicchio* commenced, as already stated (p. 242) the frescoes in the Piccolomini Library in the Cathedral at Siena. According to Vasari, he employed the youthful *Raphael* to make the sketches and even the cartoons for them,† and it has been conjectured that *Raphael* accompanied *Pinturicchio* to Siena to assist him in the execution of some of these frescoes. Drawings for three of them, attributed to *Raphael*, existing respectively in the Uffizi, in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, and in the Casa Baldeschi at Perugia, are referred to as corroborating Vasari's statement; but all these drawings are now pronounced, on the highest authority, to be by *Pinturicchio* himself; and there is every reason to

* For other smaller works of this description, see Passavant, i. 69, and ii. 25.

† Vasari's statements with respect to *Raphael's* share in these works are contradictory in the two editions of his 'Lives' published during his lifetime, and no weight can be attached to them. See commentary on the life of *Pinturicchio*, Sansoni's 'Vasari,' vol. iii.

THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN; by Raphael, in the Brera.

believe that, according to the terms of this painter's contract, they, as well as the cartoons, were made by his own hand, and that *Raphael* had no share whatever in the work. Nor, indeed, is it probable that a mature artist of established reputation and fifty years of age, should have sought the help of a youth under twenty just commencing his career, and should have employed him in making the designs for so important a work.*

At the beginning of 1504 *Raphael* appears to have quitted the atelier of Perugino and to have commenced an independent career. With all the features of the Umbrian school, the pictures he executed at this period already show the freer action of his own mind, and a decided effort at greater individuality of representation. The most interesting example of this first period of *Raphael*'s development is the Marriage of the Virgin ('Lo Sposalizio'), inscribed with his name, and the date 1504, now in the Brera at Milan (see woodcut). The composition, which is taken from *Perugino*'s picture of the same subject in the Museum at Caen, and which consequently is not *Raphael*'s own, is simple and beautiful. Mary and Joseph stand opposite to each other in the centre; the High Priest, between them, joins their hands; Joseph is in the act of placing the ring on the Virgin's finger; on her side is a group of the maidens of the Temple; on Joseph's are the suitors, breaking their rods—that only which Joseph holds in his hand having blossomed into a lily, the sign, according to the legend, that he was the chosen one. In the background is a building, adorned with a peristyle, representing the Temple at Jerusalem.† With much of the stiffness and constraint

* Morelli, 'Italian Masters,' &c., p. 270. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle in their 'Life of *Raphael*' still, however, maintain that the drawings mentioned in the text are by *Raphael*'s own hand, and that he took the part assigned to him by Vasari in *Pinturicchio*'s work at Siena. A further proof that *Raphael* had no share in it is furnished by the fact that Sigismondo Tazio, the priest of the parish in which *Pinturicchio* lived while at Siena, and his contemporary, in his history of the city gives a list of those who assisted the painter in decorating the Piccolomini Library, and does not include in it the name of *Raphael*. Minghetti, "Raffaello," p. 43.

† This beautiful architectural design, which was frequently introduced by painters of the period into their pictures, was copied either from

of the old school, the figures are noble and dignified; the heads of great beauty and sweetness, and expressive of a tender enthusiastic pathos, which, inappropriate as it is in more animated representations, lends a peculiar charm to this subject.*

After the completion of the 'Sposalizio,' still in 1504, *Raphael* revisited Urbino, and painted there for the Duke Guidobaldo the graceful little picture, now in the Louvre, of St. George—a noble and slender figure on a white horse, attacking the dragon with his sword, having already transfixed him with his lance. In the landscape background is the figure of the liberated princess. About the same time he painted the 'Three Graces,' once in the Dudley Gallery, and now in the possession of the Duc d'Aumale, to which he is said to have been incited by the well-known antique group in the library of the Siena Cathedral. The gracefulness of the still Peruginesque expression is here united with a rich treatment of the nude. The three figures are standing in a landscape, each with one hand on her neighbour's shoulder, and a golden ball in the other. The execution of both these small pictures is careful, but at the same time light and bold. The St. George has been injured and is much over-painted.

In the autumn of the year 1504 *Raphael* went to Florence.† Tuscan art had at this period attained its highest perfection

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Brunelleschi, or from Bramante—probably by *Raphael* from the latter. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Life of Raphael,' vol. i. p. 167, &c.

* The picture is known by Longhi's engraving. The careful removal, a few years ago, of over-paintings, and the strengthening by means of quicksilver of the entirely worm-eaten panel on which the painting itself literally trembled to its fall—the skilful work of the late Cav. Molteni—has preserved it for future generations, and, at the same time, caused curious discrepancies to appear between the engraving and the original work. Signor Morelli ('It. Masters,' p. 331) says of this picture that *Raphael* partly reverts in it to his earlier manner of drawing the hand which he had copied from *Timoteo Viti*, and that "the sooty shadows and jet-black eye-pupils of his earlier pictures have disappeared, and the flesh-tints have assumed a lighter tone, which is more like the flesh-colour in the pictures of *Timoteo* than in those of *Perugino*."

† A record quoted by Gaye, 'Cartegg,' 2, p. 68, proves that *Perugino* spent part of the summer of 1505 at Florence. According to a note of certain expenses (id. p. 89) both *Michael Angelo* and *Leonardo* were at Florence in the summer of 1505—the latter was already established there in 1503.

and the most celebrated masters were contending for precedence. A new era now commences in *Raphael*'s development. From this time dates his emancipation from the confined manner of *Perugino*'s school, and his advance towards independent thought and free mastery of form. If his earlier pictures are the expression of his own mild spirit, as subordinate to the teaching of a school, the greater part of those which immediately follow are characterised by an unconstrained and cheerful conception of life The works of *Leonardo da Vinci* and *Michael Angelo* seem to have made the profoundest and most lasting impression upon him, and their influence may be traced in his pictures and drawings of this his first Florentine period.* It was perhaps fortunate that he did not fall under the influence of *Luca Signorelli*, like *Girolamo Genga* and others. He was thus able to retain the peculiar characteristics of the Umbrian school, which he subsequently developed after his own fashion, and, according to the inspiration of his genius, taking from *Leonardo* and *Michael Angelo* what he deemed most suited to his own bent.

About this year, 1504, the 'Madonna del Granduca' (5), in the Pitti Gallery, is said to have been executed. Here the Madonna holds the Infant tranquilly in her arms, and looks down in deep thought. Although slightly and very simply painted, especially in the nude parts, this picture excels all *Raphael*'s previous Madonnas in the charm of a profound feeling. We feel that no earlier painter had ever understood how to combine such beauty with so intense an expression. This picture is the last and highest condition of which *Perugino*'s type was capable.†

* Signor Morelli, 'Italian Masters,' &c., p. 332, cites in proof of this his portrait of Maddalena Doni, to be noticed hereafter, which recalls that of Mona Lisa del Giocondo by *Leonardo*. Among *Raphael*'s drawings of this period the same writer mentions a hasty sketch after *Leonardo*'s cartoon of the 'Fight for the Flag,' and a pen and ink drawing after the same cartoon, in the Dresden Gallery; the profile of an old man, and the head of a horse, in the Oxford collection, both imitated from the same master; and a pen-and-ink drawing in imitation of *Michael Angelo*'s 'David,' in the British Museum.

† Signor Morelli says of this picture that it reminds us more of *Timoteo Viti* than of *Perugino*; the dreamy, longing, languishing air of the later master has disappeared, the flesh-tints are brighter and more

The Madonna once belonging to the Duke of Terra Nuova at Naples, and now in the Berlin Museum, appears to have been painted in 1505, and was probably taken from a drawing by *Perugino*.* The Virgin is represented sitting in a rocky landscape, with the Child on her lap, who, together with the little Baptist, is holding a scroll. A third child is leaning at the Virgin's knee, gazing tenderly up at the Infant Saviour. This child, as compared with the two others, shows an advance in ease and freedom.

Raphael's visit to Florence was but of short duration, for in the succeeding year we find him employed on several large works in Perugia. These works show for the first time the influence of Florentine art in the purity, fulness, and intelligent treatment of form; though at the same time retaining "motives" of the Peruginesque school. The first of them which claims our notice was that executed for the nuns of S. Antonio of Padua, at Perugia—once in the possession of the Colonna family at Rome, afterwards in that of the King of Naples (8).† It represents the Madonna and Child seated on a stately throne, with a canopy. On the upper step of the throne stands the little St. John, adoring the Infant Christ (clothed at the request of the sisterhood), who blesses him, while the Virgin gently draws him nearer. At her side are SS. Rosalia and Catherine. Below them stand SS. Peter and Paul, figures of utmost dignity and great force of colour. In the lunette above is the Almighty —a half-length figure — with two adoring angels. The draperies in this picture, particularly in the figures of the

like those of *Timoteo* than like *Perugino*'s darker tone. He makes the same remark with regard to the 'Madonna de' Tempi,' and that of Lord Cowper, to be hereafter noticed. 'It. Masters,' p. 333.

* Morelli, p. 335, &c.

† Rumohr assigns a somewhat earlier date to this picture, ('Ital. Forsch.' iii. 32,) but Signor Morelli believes it to have been executed in 1507-8, after *Raphael* had experienced the influence of *Fra Bartolommeo*. It passed into the hands of the late Duke of Ripalda, the Spanish Minister at the Neapolitan Court, when the King fled to Gaeta. He left it in his will back to the ex-king, after having in vain attempted to sell it in France and England. It was much injured by a process of cleaning and restoring which it underwent at Paris, and in its present condition scarcely deserves the praise bestowed upon it in the text. It is by no means a good example of the great painter's powers.

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THE MADONNAS OF RAPHAEL.

7. Colonna altar-piece, King of Naples.
8. Ansidei Raphael, National Gallery.
10. The Cardellino, Tribune, Uffizi.
11. Virgin in the Meadow, Vienna.
12. Holy Family and Palm-tree, Bridgewater House.
13. Holy Family, St. Petersburg.
14. Virgin and Child, Duc d'Aumale.
15. Canigiani Raphael, Munich.
16. Virgin with the Pink, a copy.
17. Madonna of the Casa Tempi, Munich.
18. Virgin and Sleeping Child.
19. Virgin and Child, Panshanger.
20. Colonna Madonna, Berlin.

Raphael's first fresco, S. Severo, Perugia.

Apostles, are already more free and broad; their heads are deeply thoughtful in expression, those of the female Saints, particularly that of St. Catherine, full of grace and sweetness; the Infant Christ is altogether worthy of his hand. The small subjects of the predella are now dispersed. The 'Christ on the Mount of Olives' is in the possession of the Baroness Burdett Coutts; the 'Christ bearing his Cross,' was formerly at Mr. Miles's, of Leigh Court (perhaps by *Lo Spagna*); and the 'Pietà' is in the possession of Mr. Whyte, of Barron Hill, Derbyshire.*

Two other important works are inscribed with the date 1505. One an altar-piece for the church of the Serviti at Perugia, known as the 'Ansidei Raphael' from the family for which it was painted, formerly at Blenheim, and now in the National Gallery,† representing the Madonna and Child on a throne, between St. John the Baptist and St. Nicholas of Bari (9)—a picture of surpassing beauty and dignity, and one of the best preserved of all *Raphael's* works. Besides the dreamy intensity of feeling of the school of Perugia, we perceive here the aim at a greater freedom and truth of nature, founded on thorough study. The centre panel of the predella of this picture—the Preaching of St. John the Baptist—is at Bowood, the seat of the Marquis of Lansdowne. The other work referred to is a fresco of considerable size, in the lunette of a chapel in the Camaldolese church of S. Severo at Perugia, completed two or three years later. The Saviour is seated in the centre, with the Holy Spirit hovering above and two youthful angels beside him. Over this group is the Almighty, and two boy-angels. On each side of it, somewhat lower, are three seated figures, chiefly Saints of the Camaldolese order (see woodcut). This is a very grand composition; on the one hand recalling *Fra Bartolommeo's* now ruined fresco, belonging to the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova at

* The 'Pietà' passed from the possession of Count Rechberg to that of Sir Thomas Lawrence, and then became the property of Mr. Whyte, of Barron Hill. Two single figures from the predella, St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua, are in the Dulwich Gallery.

† This picture was acquired by the British Government for the nation in 1885 for £72,000—the largest price ever paid for a single picture. It is finely engraved by the late Mr. L. Grüner.

Florence,* while, on the other, it anticipates the upper portion of *Raphael*'s own great fresco of the 'Disputa,' in the Vatican. It has unfortunately suffered materially, and the upper group is almost entirely destroyed. Under it is a niche, on each side of which are the figures of three saints, painted by *Perugino* in 1521, and painfully showing the weakness of the surviving master.

After finishing these works *Raphael* appears to have returned to Florence, where he remained (with the exception of visits to Urbino and Perugia) until the middle of the year 1508. The earlier paintings executed during this period retain, as might be expected, reminiscences of the Peruginesque school, both in conception and execution; the later ones follow in all essential respects the general style of the Florentines of this time.

Among the earlier is the circular picture of 'the Holy Family with the Palm-tree' (12), formerly in the Orleans Collection, and now in the gallery of the Earl of Ellesmere, in London. The Madonna is seated under a fan-palm, holding on her lap the Infant Christ, to whom Joseph, kneeling, presents flowers. This last figure is either by an inferior hand, or has been entirely painted over.

To this category may be added 'the Virgin in the Meadow,' or 'Virgin in green' (11), in the picture gallery at Vienna, probably painted between 1505 and 1506. The Madonna is here represented in a beautiful landscape, with both hands supporting the Infant Christ, who stands before her, her head inclined towards the little St. John, who, kneeling at the side, offers a reed cross to his companion. This is a picture of tender grace and sweetness, showing the influence of *Leonardo* more than that of any other master in the expression of the heads, in the forms of the children, and even in the drapery and deep brownish tones of the landscape. Two other pictures are closely related to this composition. One, in the tribune of the Uffizi at Florence, is the 'Madonna del Cardellino' (10), with the little St. John presenting a

* See ante p. 446.

THE MADONNA DEL CARDELLINO, by Raphael Uffizi, Florence

goldfinch to the Infant Christ; whence the name of the picture.* The form and countenance of the Madonna are of the purest beauty; the little Baptist also is extremely sweet; but the conception of the Infant Christ does not fulfil the master's intention, which appears to have been to represent the dignity of a divine being in a childlike form; both the figure and expression are rather stiff and affected (see woodcut). The second picture is the so-called 'Belle Jardinière' (21), inscribed 1507, now in the gallery of the Louvre. It belongs to the latter part of *Raphael*'s residence in Florence. In composition it resembles the two last mentioned, but all that was unsatisfactory and incomplete in them has vanished here. The sweetest grace and innocence breathe from this picture. The Madonna sits among flowering shrubs, as in a garden (whence, perhaps, the name of the picture); the Infant Christ stands at her knee, while St. John kneels in childlike devotion.† An early copy, which in later times has passed through many hands, falsely assuming to be the original, is probably the work of a Flemish artist.

It is interesting to observe *Raphael*'s progress in the smaller pictures which he painted in Florence—half-figures of the Madonna with the Child in her arms. In this instance again, the earlier of the series are characterised by a deep and tender feeling, while a freer and more cheerful enjoyment of life is apparent in those of later date. The 'Madonna di Casa Tempi,' a Florentine family (17), now in the Munich Gallery, is the first of this series.‡ Here the Virgin is tenderly pressing the Child to her, who nestles closely as he appears to whisper words of endearment. In this picture the Madonna is represented standing; in those following she is seated. In one the Infant Christ looks out of the picture sitting on the Madonna's lap and holding

* This picture has been greatly injured by restoration and repainting.

† Vasari states that this picture was finished by *Ridolfo Ghirlandajo*, who added the blue drapery; and see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Life of Raphael,' vol. i. p. 364, note.

‡ Signor Morelli ('Italian Masters,' p. 81) believes this picture to be of an earlier period of the master—about the time he painted the Madonna del Granduca—and certainly before he executed the Ansidei altar-piece. It has been much damaged by unskilful restoration.

by the bosom of her dress. Another is a small picture originally in the Orleans Gallery, afterwards in the possession of M. Delessert, and now in that of the Duc d'Aumale (14). In a highly executed but very spirited picture from the Colonna Palace (20) at Rome, now in the Berlin Museum (probably painted in 1507–8), the same childlike sportiveness, the same maternal tenderness, are developed with more harmonious refinement. Another Madonna and Child, in the possession of Earl Cowper, at Panshanger (19), inscribed with the year 1508, borders on mannerism in the fractious expression of the Child; the countenance of the Madonna is, however, extremely sweet. A charming Madonna and Child of an earlier date (perhaps 1505), is in the same collection. The fine composition of the 'Madonna with the Pink' (16), the original of which is not known, belongs also, doubtless, to this Florentine time. The Virgin is holding the Child upon her lap, who is in lively action, and reaching gaily towards the pink, which she is giving to him. In the background is a window through which we see into the open air.

A larger Holy Family (15), belonging to the middle time of *Raphael*'s Florentine period (? 1507), is in the Munich Gallery. In the composition of this picture we observe a particular study of artificial grouping. On one side the Madonna, half kneeling, half seated, leans over the Infant Christ, whom she gracefully sustains. On the other is Elizabeth in a similar attitude, looking up, and before her the little St. John; above the woman stands Joseph leaning on his staff, thus completing the group in a strictly pyramidal shape.* Although this disposition appears somewhat formal, and although the picture in other respects betrays an imperfect practice, yet even here there are many beautiful portions, especially in the playful affection of the children.

Another Holy Family, with half-length figures, in the Gallery of the Hermitage, at St. Petersburg (13)—the Madonna,

* This extreme regularity may have been less perceptible before two groups of infant angels' heads in the upper part of the picture were removed, after having been spoilt by a so-called restoration in the Düsseldorf Gallery. In the Corsini Palace at Rome there is a Holy Family attributed to *Raphael*, of almost the same composition, apparently a copy by a Flemish painter.

THE MADONNAS OF RAPHAEL

the Child, and Joseph—belongs also to this period, 1506. The Virgin holds the Child, who, turning to the left, looks up at Joseph. The head of the Virgin has some resemblance to that in the picture at Munich, last described. The deeper sentiment of the school of *Perugino* is seen in the expression of the Infant, while the head of Joseph, which is beardless, shows more of that direct imitation which characterised the *Naturalisti.** This picture, which was in the Crozat Collection, is so highly finished that the single hairs are seen.

In the Madrid Gallery is the Madonna with the Child seated upon a Lamb (23), after a "motive" by *Leonardo*, while Joseph, leaning upon a staff, is looking on. This is one of the gems of the master, and the original of many inferior replicas. The Joseph's head is exquisite.

One of the best pictures of the latter part of this Florentine period is the St. Catherine in the National Gallery, formerly in the Aldobrandini Gallery at Rome. The Saint, a half-length figure, stands leaning on her wheel, looking up with rapture. Few even of the great masters have succeeded in giving this expression with so much intensity.

Besides these pictures, intended more for the purposes of domestic devotion, *Raphael* executed two large altar-pictures at Florence. One is the 'Madonna del Baldacchino' (22) in the Pitti. The Madonna and Child are on a throne; on one side stand SS. Peter and Bruno; on the other, SS. Anthony and Augustin; at the foot of the throne are two beautiful boy-angels holding a scroll with musical notes inscribed on it; over the throne is a canopy (*baldacchino*), the curtains of which are drawn aside by two angels. The picture is not deficient in the solemnity suited to a church subject; the drapery of the saints, particularly that of St. Bruno, is very grand; in other respects, however, the taste of the *naturalisti* prevails, and the heads are in general devoid of nobleness and real dignity. In the colour of the flesh and in the architectural background the picture forcibly reminds us of *Fra Bartolommeo*. *Raphael* left this work unfinished in

* The term *naturalisti* is applied by Italian, and *naturalistas* by Spanish writers on Art, to painters of various schools, who imitated nature without sufficient selection.

Florence; and in this form, with an appearance of finish which is attributable to restorations, it has descended to us.*

The other altar-piece—the Entombment of Christ, painted for the church of S. Francesco at Perugia—is now in the Borghese Gallery at Rome. The picture is divided into two groups. On the left, the body of the Saviour is borne to the grave by two men, with great energy of action. Close to the body are Mary Magdalen, Joseph of Arimathea, and John, variously expressing the deepest sympathy. On the right, supported by women, is the Virgin fainting (see woodcut). This is the first of *Raphael*'s compositions in which an historical subject is dramatically treated, and, as is evident from the number of designs and studies he made for the picture, it tasked his powers to the utmost. This work has been the subject of criticism by Rumohr and others, who ascribe to it flatness of execution and want of real pathos; and accuse *Raphael* of having borrowed parts of the composition from *Mantegna*'s grand etching of the Entombment, and from *Michael Angelo*'s group of the Pietà; from all of which we entirely dissent. The execution of the picture is severe and careful, but extremely beautiful, the action true and powerful, the expression of the single heads as fine as anything that issued from the master's hand, while the modeling of the Saviour's body—the work of a painter only twenty-four years of age—may take its place among the master-works of Christian art.

The lunette of this picture, containing the First Person of the Trinity with upraised hands, among angels, is now placed above an altar-piece by *Orazio Alfani*, in the church of S. Francesco at Perugia. Three compartments of the predella are in the gallery of the Vatican, representing in chiaroscuro allegorical figures of Faith, Hope, and Charity, with genii at their side, in circular medallions—graceful, pleasing compositions, light and spirited in execution.

As early as 1506 *Raphael* painted another St. George which recalls in many ways the first small picture, now in the Louvre; only here the Dragon is killed by the spear

* For a fuller description of this picture, see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Life of Raphael,' vol. i. p. 369, &c.

THE ENTOMBMENT by Raphael in the [illegible] Gallery, Rome.

alone, and the Princess, instead of fleeing, is on her knees. It was executed for the Duke of Urbino, and intended by him as a present to Henry VII. of England, who had bestowed the Order of the Garter on the Duke.* This small picture, now in the Hermitage Gallery, is one of the most highly finished works of the master. The head of the Princess is a model of fine expression, and every scale of the Dragon is given. The colour is powerful, and the gray horse perfectly luminous. Of the same time is probably the small and beautiful unfinished Madonna of the Esterhazy collection in the public gallery at Pesth.

THE STANZE OF THE VATICAN.

About the middle of the year 1508, *Raphael*, then in his twenty-fifth year, was invited to Rome by Pope Julius II., in order to assist in the decorations of the state apartments in the Vatican, already begun by earlier masters. A few only of the works of *Bazzi*, of whom we shall speak hereafter, and of *Perugino*, were allowed to remain. These frescoes inaugurate the third period of *Raphael's* development, and the attainment of his ultimate perfection. The subjects, more important than any on which he had hitherto been occupied, developed the full range of his powers. The proximity of *Michael Angelo*, at this time engaged on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, animated him with emulation; and the world of classical antiquity, spread around him in Rome, gave the noblest direction to his mind. The extent and number of the works in which he now engaged obliged him at once to collect a school of artists fitted to take part, under his direction, in these great labours.

At the period in question, shortly before the Reformation, the Papal power had reached its proudest elevation. It had gained an extension of territory and an increase of warlike resources more considerable than at any former period; while its spiritual influence over the nations of Christendom was incalculable. To glorify this power—to represent Rome as the centre of intellectual culture—were the primary

* *Raphael* has represented the garter on the leg of St. George.

objects of the gigantic works thus undertaken in the Vatican. They cover the ceilings and walls of three apartments and a large saloon, which now bear the name of the 'Stanze.' *Raphael* received in payment for each of the large wall-paintings the sum of 1200 gold scudi. They are all executed in fresco. With the exception of two allegorical figures in the Sala di Costantino, those on the arched ceilings of the three apartments are variously arranged; but each wall is occupied by one large picture, the upper part of which is semicircular, corresponding with the form of the ceiling. The dado throughout is painted in chiaroscuro, the subjects referring to those of the principal frescoes, which again refer to the immediately corresponding figures on the ceiling. The space on two of the walls of each apartment is interrupted by a window, which compelled the artist to adopt a peculiar arrangement. In the larger saloon he pursued a different plan. At a later period, when the Popes had taken up their residence in the Quirinal Palace, the Stanze were neglected. In the beginning of the last century the walls were covered with dirt, and the chiaroscuro subjects of the dado almost destroyed. *Carlo Maratta*, a meritorious artist of his time, cleaned the frescoes with great care, and restored the smaller compositions below. There is, consequently, so much of *Maratta*'s own painting, and even of his composition, in these latter and less important works, that we shall not again refer to them in the following descriptions.

The order in which these apartments were painted does not correspond with their relative local position. We shall describe them according to the order of time.

I. CAMERA DELLA SEGNATURA.

Raphael commenced and finished his labours in this apartment in 1511. The subjects are Theology, Poetry, Philosophy, and Jurisprudence; namely, the representation of those lofty occupations which engage the more elevated powers of the human mind. He had no sooner completed his first fresco—Theology, or the Dispute of the Sacrament—than the Pope, delighted with the new artist, ordered all the already executed works by foregoing painters to be

destroyed, and the walls to be prepared anew for *Raphael*. Some of these thus hastily condemned works, even though replaced by the great master, may be regretted. The Pope's indiscriminate mandate must also have pained the young painter, who was, if we may believe Vasari, 'la gentilezza stessa.' The venerable *Luca Signorelli* had, it is said, just completed an important work as a companion to one on the opposite wall by *Pietro della Francesca*. *Perugino*, also, was working at the very time on the ceiling of the room adjoining the Camera della Segnatura. Owing, it is supposed, to the representations of *Raphael*, parts of the decorations of that ceiling were allowed to remain, including medallions of the Creation by *Perugino*.

We now give the works of *Raphael*, which are as follows.

The Subjects on the Ceiling.

Four circular pictures occupy the centre of the triangular compartments of the groined ceiling; between them are four others of an oblong form.* In the circular pictures the above-mentioned moral Powers are personified by allegorical female figures of noble air, enthroned in the clouds in divine serenity and repose; each characterised, not only by symbols but by individual qualities of form, action, and expression. On each side of these female figures is a boy genius, holding a tablet with an inscription referring to each personification. The figure of Poetry is distinguished above all by her beauty; the countenance expresses a sweet and serene inspiration. Of the oblong pictures, that next to Theology represents the Fall of Man, a work of simple and harmonious composition, perhaps the most beautiful treatment of this subject; next to Poetry is the Punishment of Marsyas; next to Philosophy, a female figure who examines a terrestrial globe; next to Jurisprudence, the Judgment of Solomon.†

* These last extend across the edges of the vaulting, and consequently appear as if bent round them. *Raphael* was not answerable for this, since he was obliged to preserve the compartments of the roof, as arranged by his predecessor *Bazzi*, by whose hand are the arabesques still existing, and other parts of the decoration of the ceiling.

† According to an ingenious interpretation by Passavant (vol. i. p. 139), these side pictures are intended to convey allusions to the circular pictures

All these eight pictures are on a golden ground in imitation of mosaic, and remind us, particularly in the greenish middle tints of the flesh-colour, of the earlier stages of *Raphael's* progress.

The Frescoes on the Walls.

The allegorical figures on the ceiling give, as it were, the title of the large pictures on the walls. These are arranged in the following order :—

1. THEOLOGY (otherwise called 'La Disputa del Sacramento').—This is divided into two principal parts: the upper half represents the glory of Heaven, in the traditional form of the early painters. In the centre is the Saviour, in a glory of cherubim, exhibiting his wounds as the sacrifice of the Eucharist; on his right the Virgin, on his left St. John the Baptist. Over the Saviour appears the half-figure of the Almighty in the act of benediction, holding the globe in his left hand, and below the Saviour is the dove of the Holy Spirit. On each side of this group, in a semicircle, sit Patriarchs, Apostles, and Saints—sublime and dignified figures, with utmost solemnity of action. Angels and cherubs hover above them; and below, as if supporting the clouds, are a row of winged heads, while four boy-angels hold the books of the Evangelists. In the lower half of the picture we see an assembly of the great Doctors of the Church. In their centre, raised on steps, is an altar with the Host—as the mystical type of the bodily presence of the Saviour on earth. Next to the altar, on each side, sit the four Fathers of the Latin Church; next to, and behind them, stand other teachers. At the extreme ends on each side, are groups of youths and men, who press forward to hear the revelation of the holy mystery, some in attitudes of enthusiastic devotion, some yet doubting and apparently in dispute. All these figures, and especially the expression of the heads, show the

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on each side of them. For example, the Fall of Man, between Jurisprudence and Theology, alludes both to Judgment and to Salvation. The Punishment of Marsyas is at once the triumph of art, and (in reference to Dante's Paradiso, i. vs. 19) the symbol of the higher birth. The figure examining a globe points no less to Philosophy than to Poetry; and, finally, the Judgment of Solomon combines admirably Wisdom and Justice.

POETRY, OR THE PARNASSUS, a fresco by Raphael, in the Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican.

utmost individuality of character and the most careful study of detail. It is this conscientious, almost laborious treatment of separate parts which marks this fresco as one of the earlier works; in those later executed we observe an increasing attention to general effect. The solemn and severe style of the upper part of the picture, as well as the gold lights, are not to be considered as a blind imitation of the older manner, as some have asserted, but rather as conformable to the mystical meaning of the subject, and on this ground intentionally retained by the artist (see woodcut).

2. POETRY (over and on each side of the window).—In the upper part appear Apollo and the Muses under laurel-trees, on the heights of Parnassus. The poets of antiquity and of modern Italy are ranged on each side; among them Homer reciting verses, which a seated youth eagerly listens to and transcribes: behind him are Virgil and Dante. Below, on each side of the window, are two separate groups: on one side Petrarch, Sappho, Corinne, and others, engaged in conversation; on the other Pindar, an aged figure, speaking with an air of enthusiasm, while Horace and another listen to him with reverential admiration. These lower groups appear to represent Lyric Poetry in its various branches, while in the upper we recognise the poets of the *Epos*. The picture is admirably arranged; the single groups of which it is composed harmonise with one another, and unite, without the appearance of art, in a grand whole. A cheerful, graceful character, corresponding with the poetic life of Italy in *Raphael's* time, pervades this work, which abounds in refined and noble "motives." Yet some of the figures are less excellent: the Apollo himself is least fortunate, with a violin, instead of a lyre, in his hand—doubtless the result of some outer dictation; the two Muses seated next to him are, perhaps, placed too symmetrically. In point of style this work forms the transition to the grander compositions (see woodcut).

3. PHILOSOPHY (better known as the 'School of Athens'). —This fresco represents a large atrium in the noble style of *Bramante*, in which are assembled numerous teachers of philosophy with their scholars. A flight of steps raises the

more distant figures above the nearer groups. The former represent the school of Philosophy proper: Plato and Aristotle stand together in the centre, as if disputing on their doctrines. Plato, the representative of Speculative Philosophy, points upwards with uplifted arm; Aristotle, as the exponent of Practical Philosophy, stretches his outspread hand toward the earth. On each side, extending deeper into the picture, is a double row of attentive auditors. Next to them, on one side, stands Socrates, with scholars collected around him, to whom he explains in order (counting on his fingers) his principles and their conclusions. On the opposite side are persons engaged in conversation and study. In the foreground, on each hand, the sciences of Arithmetic and Geometry, with their subordinate studies, occupy separate groups. On the left, as the representative of Arithmetic, we observe Pythagoras, writing upon his knee, with several figures (one with a tablet inscribed with a musical scale) around him. On the right Archimedes (or Euclid), stooping eagerly, draws a geometrical figure on a tablet lying on the ground. Several scholars watch its progress; the different degrees of their intelligence being most strikingly represented. Next to them are Zoroaster and Ptolemy, as representatives of Astronomy and Geography with celestial and terrestrial globes. On the steps, between the two groups, and apart from all, reclines Diogenes the Cynic; a youth, directed by an old man, turns from him to the teachers of a higher philosophy. Near the group of Archimedes, close to the edge of the picture, *Raphael* himself enters the hall, accompanying *Bazzi*;* Archimedes is the portrait of *Raphael*'s friend *Bramante*. The general arrangement of this subject is masterly. Plato and Aristotle, with the group of their scholars, are placed together in dignified symmetry, yet without any appearance of stiffness or constraint; on each side greater freedom prevails, with the utmost variety in the attitudes of the figures which compose

* This figure was formerly believed to be *Perugino*, to whom it has no resemblance whatever. *Raphael* may have introduced the portrait of *Bazzi* as a compliment to the painter of the ceiling of the room; the three artists who were concerned in the work, *Raphael*, *Bazzi*, and *Bramante*, being thus associated with it in the fresco.

the groups; while again the leading masses are held in perfect balance. The style is grand and free; a picturesque unity of effect seems to have been the artist's aim throughout, and this aim he has attained most perfectly. The taste of the design, both in the nude and in the drapery, is excellent, and throughout guided by the purest sentiment of beauty; the group of youths in particular, collected round Archimedes, is among the most interesting and natural of *Raphael*'s creations (see woodcut).*

4. JURISPRUDENCE (above and on each side of the window),—The subjects of this wall are divided into three separate pictures. Over the window, inclosed by the arch, are three female figures seated on a parapet—personifications of Prudence, Fortitude, and Temperance, the virtues without whose aid the science of law cannot be applied to daily life. Prudence, double-faced, is raised above the others, in the centre; in front her countenance is beautiful and young, at the back aged—in allusion to her power of looking into the future and the past.† One little winged genius holds a mirror before her; one behind her has a torch. Fortitude is personified as an armed woman in a noble attitude, holding a branch of oak, with a lion at her side.‡ Temperance holds a bridle. Other winged boys are introduced upon the parapet. This is one of *Raphael*'s equally grand and graceful creations. At the sides of the window is represented the science of Jurisprudence, in its two divisions of ecclesiastical and civil law. On the larger side, below the figure of Temperance, is Gregory XI., seated on the papal throne, delivering the Decretals to a consistorial advocate. The features of the Pope are those of Julius II.; the figures around him are portraits of individuals composing his court at the time. The heads are full of life and character. On the smaller side, under the figure of Fortitude, is the Emperor Justinian delivering the Pandects to Tribonianus. This is a less important work.

* The cartoon for the figures of this composition, with some variations, is in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

† The aged face, which is in shadow, is contrived to look like a mask, and, to avoid all uncertainty as to this point, it is bearded.

‡ This recalls the allegorial figure of Fortitude in the frescoes of the Cambio at Perugia.

The entire cycle of these works thus belongs essentially to the domain of thought. The task allotted to the artist was to conceive pictorially a series of abstract ideas—to embody the immaterial in material forms. Similar attempts had been made by *Giotto* and his followers. It will be interesting to review the means employed by a painter like *Raphael*, at the summit of the art, in the execution of so difficult an undertaking, and to consider the success he attained.

In the first three pictures we at once observe a happy conception in the juxtaposition of individuals eminent in one or other of the intellectual pursuits represented, and who are brought together, as in the 'Triumphs of Petrarch,' without regard to the period in which they lived, but solely with reference to their intellectual relationships and their efforts toward a common aim. They were thus easily arranged in separate groups, according to their greater or less efficiency and influence. Still, it was necessary to define their principal object in one central point. In the 'Theology' this point is, properly speaking, the Altar with the Sacrament which, as the unchanging symbol of Redemption, explains to the Christian spectator the object to which the meditations of the assembled theologians are directed. Whether intended, in reference to the Trinity above, as combining with that the sacramental type of the Redeemer's body below, or as figuring the doctrine of Transubstantiation, the Ultramontane protests against which were beginning to be heard—or as an embodiment of a subject called the 'Rest of the Church,' or the 'Réunion des Esprits,' *—this fresco has been the occasion of much speculation; nor, except as the combination of various traditional theological ideas, would it be easy to explain it.

With regard to unity of effect, this grand work might, however, possibly be criticised; not so much because it is divided into two separate parts, as because neither is, properly speaking, the principal.

In the 'Poetry' the figures of Apollo and the Muses at

* See 'History of Our Lord in Art,' vol. ii. p. 358.

once explain the subject. Although the poets are assembled round them in familiar intercourse, the Muses and the God still appear, so to speak, as the hosts—the poets as the guests—of Parnassus. Thus an intelligible whole, like a refined and pleasing poem, agreeable both to thought and sight, is produced, which by degrees unfolds a deeper meaning.

In the 'Philosophy,' on the contrary, there is no definite explanation of its meaning, no allegorical or poetical figures (for the statues of Apollo and Minerva, placed in niches at the sides, can hardly be considered as such), to explain what special interests moves the assembly, at least the upper portion of it.* The master has displayed his art in this instance not so much in the poetical meaning of the whole, as in the grand arrangement of the masses and space, and in the surpassing beauty of the single groups and figures, which in themselves give complete satisfaction to the eye.

In the 'Jurisprudence,' the unfavourable position of the window, which leaves but a very small space on one side, appears to have occasioned the division of the space into three separate pictures. In consequence of this the master found it necessary in the upper picture to return to an allegorical mode of representation, as described in the three grand female personifications, which allows the expression of several ideas by means of very few figures.

II. STANZA OF THE HELIODORUS.

The works in this stanza, so called after the principal subject represented, appear to have directly followed (from the year 1512) the foregoing. The four divisions of the ceiling correspond to the triangular compartments of the groining, and are formed by a decoration intended to represent tapestry. The subjects are from the Old Testament, and include the promises of the Lord to the Patriarchs: in

* That this remark is not altogether fanciful is proved by the many erroneous interpretations given of the subject in engravings and descriptions immediately after *Raphael's* death. The authors of these descriptions, it seems, thought they recognised allusions to the Christian religion. See the 'Beschreibung der Stadt Rom,' vol. ii. book 1, p. 336.

allusion, no doubt, to the power of the Church, and in keeping with the traditional Christian symbols;

The promise of God to Abraham of a numerous posterity;*

The Sacrifice of Isaac;

Jacob's Dream;

Moses and the Burning Bush.

These are simple and grand compositions, though unfortunately much injured; the colour, and consequently the effect, having suffered materially, probably from damp. The four large frescoes on the wall refer to the Divine assistance granted to the Church against her foes, and to the miraculous corroboration of her doctrines; with a special reference to her history, ecclesiastical and political, at the period of her foundation. They are as follows:

1. THE EXPULSION OF HELIODORUS FROM THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM: when, as treasurer to the Syrian king Seleucus, he attempted, by his master's command, to plunder the Temple (2 Maccabees, iii.). This representation typifies the deliverance of the ecclesiastical States from the enemies of the papal authority, under Julius II., and his preservation of the possessions of the Church. In a larger sense it is the symbol of the Divine protection. We look into the nave of the Temple, before which is the altar with the high priest kneeling in prayer; a number of people surround him; agile youths are climbing up the pedestal of a column. In the foreground, on the right of the spectator, lies Heliodorus, prostrate under the hoofs of a horse ridden by a figure in golden armour, accompanied by two youthful figures rushing through the air with scourges in their hands to punish the despoilers of the Temple. This is a group of extraordinary poetic power; like a flash of Divine anger, striking the guilty to the earth. Behind, on the right, are the servants of Heliodorus carrying off booty. Opposite this apparition is a dense group of women and children, finely varied in action, their countenances expressing astonishment and alarm. Still forwarder on the left is Pope Julius II., carried in a chair by bearers. His presence is intended to indicate the relation of the

* Sometimes called, 'God appearing to Noah.' (See Passavant, 'Rafael von Urbino,' ii. 153.)

HELIODORUS, a fresco by Raphael in the second Stanza of the Vatican.

miraculous event to the circumstances of his time (see woodcut). The picture is a spirited development of an extended action, including within itself both beginning and end, and admirably representing a passing moment. The apparent absence of interest in the group around the Pope alone disturbs this effect; it were to be wished that these figures could have exhibited a direct sympathy in the miraculous event.*

2. THE MASS OF BOLSENA (above and on each side of the window) is all, with the exception, perhaps, of the group of women to the left, by *Raphael's* own hand. It represents a miracle supposed to have been wrought in the year 1263. A priest who doubted the doctrine of transubstantiation was convinced by the blood which flowed from the Host he was consecrating. In the Heliodorus we have seen the protection afforded to the Church in her external relations; in this we perceive her internal security against sceptics and heretics, and the infallibility of the Romish dogmas. It no doubt also contains a reference to the times which preceded the outbreak of the Reformation. The connection of the miraculous event with the persons present is contrived in a simple but masterly manner. Over the window is an altar in the choir of a church. The priest kneels before it, gazing on the bleeding wafer with an expression of embarrassment, astonishment, and shame. Behind him are choristers with tapers in their hands. On the other side of the altar kneels Julius II. before his faldstool, in prayer, his eyes fixed upon the miracle with a solemn and earnest expression of conviction. At each side of the window is a flight of steps; on the left, where the officiating priest stands, a number of people press forwards with varied expressions of wonder; before the steps are a group of women and children, whose attention is directed to what is passing. On the other side, behind the Pope, figures of kneeling cardinals and prelates express different degrees of sympathy; in front of the steps are the Papal Swiss guard. This picture is remarkable not only for its well-connected composition, but for its highly characteristic

* This fresco has suffered greatly, and has been repainted in parts. According to Crowe and Cavalcaselle ('Life of Raphael,' vol. ii. p. 155), he was assisted in its execution by *Giulio Romano*, and *Penni*.

forms; the courtly humility of the priests, the rude hardy forms of the Swiss, the various ways in which the people manifest their sympathy, and above all the *naïveté* of the chorister-boys, and of the youths who look over the inclosure of the choir; all this is connected satisfactorily and naturally with the two principal personages. The colouring of this fresco, and of others of the series, has placed *Raphael* on a level with the masters of the Venetian school. High authorities are agreed in considering this and the other large works in this Stanza, as the finest examples of fresco the art can boast. *Titian*'s frescoes at Padua are less richly and effectively coloured than the Mass of Bolsena and the Heliodorus. The 'Incendio del Borgo,' hereafter mentioned, may be included in this praise.

The attention which *Raphael* had concentrated on the Stanze during the first years of his residence in Rome was now distributed over various other undertakings. The Mass of Bolsena was finished in 1512; in 1513 Julius II. died, and was succeeded in the papal chair by Leo X., a prince who appears to have been more inclined to pomp and splendour than to the energetic completion of any single work. Commissions of various kinds from this time occupied the youthful master. The works in the Stanze by degrees received less attention; and much was of necessity left to scholars. Nevertheless, the first three pictures which *Raphael* executed in these apartments under Leo X. are among the most important works of his pencil. Two of them cover the remaining walls of the Stanza of the Heliodorus.

3. ATTILA, at the head of his army, is induced by the warnings of Pope Leo I., and the threatening apparition of the apostles Peter and Paul, to desist from his hostile enterprise against Rome. The subject appears to allude to the expulsion of the French from Italy, which Leo X. had effected with the assistance of the Swiss in 1513. The Pope and his suite occupy one side of the picture. The Pope's features are those of Leo X., and he as well as his retinue are in the costume of the sixteenth century. Above, in the air, appear the two Apostles with swords in their hands. Attila looks up affrighted at the apparition, while his army,

thrown into confusion, begins to retreat. In the host of the Hunnish horsemen the movements are powerful, bold, and animated. The papal group is tranquil and unembarrassed; this tranquillity, it must be confessed, is carried so far that the figures have almost the air of simple portraits. There are great beauties in the execution of this picture, but it is not free from mannerism and weakness.

4. THE DELIVERANCE OF PETER from Prison (above and on each side of a window). This subject is divided into three parts, each of which represents different moments of the event. In the centre, above the window, we see through a grating into the interior of the prison, where Peter sits asleep between his guards, his chained hands still clasped in prayer. The angel is about to strike him on the side to wake him. On the right, the angel leads him through the guards, who are sleeping on the steps. In both these representations, the composition of which is very fine, the figures are illuminated by the light proceeding from the angel. On the left, the guards are roused, and seen staggering, half asleep: this group receives its light from the moon and from torches. This fresco is celebrated for the picturesque effect of these lights. The subject is supposed to contain an allusion to the captivity of Leo X., who had been liberated only the year preceding his elevation to the pontificate.*

III. STANZA DELL' INCENDIO.

On the ceiling of this apartment are four circular pictures, in which are represented the Almighty and Christ, in different glories. These are the remains of the works of *Perugino*. The subjects on the walls, executed about 1515, contain events from the lives of Leo III. and Leo IV. They were probably chosen with reference to the Pope's name, and correspond with the general plan of the cycle of the Stanze, which, as before mentioned, is dedicated to the glorification of the papal power. The most important are:—

* This fresco has been repainted in several parts, and the colours have consequently become opaque and heavy. The caryatides in this chamber are by *Perino del Vaga*, and other parts of the decoration by *Raphael's* various pupils.

1. THE INCENDIO DEL BORGO (a suburb added to Rome by Leo IV.). This conflagration was miraculously extinguished by the Pope, by making the sign of the cross. In the background, we see the portico of the old church of St. Peter's; above it are assembled the Pope and the clergy; on the steps of the church are the people who have fled thither for assistance. On each side of the foreground are burning houses. On the left the inhabitants are fleeing, almost naked, variously intent on securing their own safety, and still more anxious to save those dear to them. On the right, men are busied in extinguishing the flames, whilst women bring vessels of water. In the centre a group of women and children crowd anxiously together, and pray to the Pope for succour. A number of beautiful and noble figures are brought together in this picture, uniting, through one exciting cause, the utmost variety of agitating passions. In this instance, the artist was perfectly free to give scope to his feeling for the grand and graceful, without any prejudice to the interest of the subject, although, from the manner in which he has conceived it, the chief action is thrown into the distance, and its most prominent meaning is thus lost to the mind. The figures of the two young women carrying vessels of water, with their drapery agitated in grand folds by the draught of air, are very beautiful. In the nude figures, on the contrary, however beautiful the principal group, there is a manifest endeavour to display a knowledge of anatomy, probably inspired by the art of *Michael Angelo*, and therefore not entirely true to the character of his own mind. This effort in some degree weakens the spectator's interest; though, otherwise, portions of this fresco, both in drawing and colouring, may be considered some of his finest efforts.*

2. THE VICTORY AT OSTIA OVER THE SARACENS, who had made a descent on Italy in the time of Leo IV. This fresco was not executed by *Raphael*, with the exception, perhaps, of the portraits of the Pope and of his attendants, Giulio de' Medici and Bibiena.

3. THE OATH OF LEO III.; by which he purified himself

* It is probable that the greater part of this fresco was executed by *Giulio Romano* and other pupils from *Raphael*'s drawings.

of the crimes of which his enemies accused him before Charlemagne (as Pope he could not be judged by any earthly tribunal), executed in the greater part by *Raphael*'s assistants.

4. CHARLEMAGNE CROWNED BY LEO III. (temporal power flowing from the spiritual). This picture contains a number of excellent portraits, in which we recognise the master's own hand.

IV. SALA DI COSTANTINO.

The principal paintings in this large flat-roofed apartment are composed in imitation of pendent tapestries; between them are introduced figures of canonised popes with allegorical female personifications. The larger works represent scenes from the life of the Emperor Constantine, in which he figures as the champion of the Church and the founder of her temporal power.

These works, taken from *Raphael*'s drawings, were not executed till after his death, and under the direction of *Giulio Romano*. It is said that *Raphael* intended to use oil-colour instead of fresco in this instance, which would have enabled him more easily to correct the work of his scholars. Two of the allegorical figures, Justice and Benignity, were actually painted in oil *—probably immediately after his death, and from his cartoons, as we recognise much of his own noble manner, particularly in the heads. It does not appear that his drawings were used for any other of the allegorical personifications, or for the figures of the popes. At a subsequent period, fresco, which is better adapted for walls, was again resorted to in the completion of these designs.

The principal work of this apartment is the battle between Constantine and Maxentius at the Ponte Molle near Rome. It was executed by *Giulio Romano*, after a design by *Raphael*, without any alteration, except a few immaterial omissions. The composition is, therefore, *Raphael*'s own, and it is certainly one of his most important. The moment represented is the crisis of victory; the vanquished are driven to the banks of the Tiber; the Emperor on horseback, at the head of his army, leaps over the bodies of his prostrate foes.

* See Vasari, 'Vita di Giulio Romano.'

Figures of Victory hover over his head. He raises his spear against Maxentius—now driven into the river, and contending with the waves in desperation. More distant, on the right, is seen the last struggle on the shore, and with those who endeavour to save themselves in boats. Still deeper in the picture the fugitives are pursued over the bridge. On the left the battle still rages; here the fury of the victors, and the desperate resistance of the last who oppose them, are displayed in various groups. Yet this wild chaos of figures easily resolves itself into separate masses; the various well-expressed moments of the action guide the eye insensibly to the central point. The battle, the victory, and the defeat form a dramatic whole, admirably developed, and calculated to produce the grandest impression. And not less striking are the life and energy of the single figures, and the varied and spirited manner in which they assist the general scheme. Many later artists have made this work their model for representations of the same class, but none have ever equalled its poetic effect. The execution is bold, thorough, and even hard, in the manner of *Giulio Romano*, though it does not injure the effect of this wildly animated scene.

The other representations in this apartment are of much less interest, partly because the compositions themselves appear to have been originally less worthy; partly because most unjustifiable changes were afterwards made which essentially lessened the dignity of the subjects. The first and most important—the Vision of the Holy Cross before the battle (properly the first of the series)—was executed by *Giulio Romano*. The second and least successful—the Baptism of Constantine—is ascribed to *Francesco Penni;* the third—the Donation of Constantine to the Pope—to *Raffaellino dal Colle.* The ceiling is decorated with unimportant works of a later date.

THE "LOGGIE" OF THE VATICAN.

While the later frescoes in the Stanze were in progress, *Raphael* was employed by Leo X. on two other great works; one the decoration of the Loggie of the Vatican; the other the designs for the tapestries of the Sistine Chapel.

The "Loggie" are open galleries built round three sides of the court of St. Damasus (the older portion of the Vatican Palace). They were begun by Bramante under Julius II., and completed by *Raphael* under Leo X. They consist of three stories; the two lower formed by vaulted arcades, the upper by an elegant colonnade. The first arcade of the middle story was decorated with paintings and stuccoes under *Raphael*'s direction. It leads to the Stanze, so that one master-work here succeeds to another. If we consider the harmonious combination of architecture, modeling, and painting displayed in these Loggie—all the production of one mind—there is no place in Rome which gives so high an idea of the cultivated taste and feeling for beauty which existed in the age of Leo X.

The walls round the windows on the inner side of the Loggie are ornamented with festoons of flowers and fruit of great beauty and delicacy. The other decorations, which occur alternately with small stuccoes, include animals of various kinds, but consist principally in the so-called arabesque ornaments. A light and playful fancy guides the eye from one subject to another. The excavations made at that time in the baths of Titus had brought to light antique arabesque decorations known to have inspired the admiration of the great master. Some controversy exists as to how far he actually borrowed from these designs.* There is no need, however, to suspect him of plagiarism, as the style of *Raphael*'s arabesques differs materially from that of the antique decorations, though both equally embody the spirit of ancient fable. The stuccoes consist of various architectural ornaments and a multitude of reliefs, consisting of medallion busts, single figures, and groups, principally representing mythological subjects.

A distinguished scholar of *Raphael* in this department of decorative art, *Giovanni da Udine*, directed the execution of the stuccoes and decorations. *Perino del Vaga* was the principal assistant in the painting of the figures. This kind of decoration was afterwards frequently imitated by *Raphael*'s

* See 'Essay on the Arabesques of the Ancients, as compared with those of *Raphael* and his School,' by A. Hittorff.

scholars in other places, and has been adopted by modern artists; whilst the yet unrivalled originals, less from the effect of time than from wanton barbarism, are materially injured, and retain but a faint shadow of their original beauty.

The paintings of the vaulted spaces are, on the whole, in better preservation; they are the chief ornaments of the arcade, and the subjects just described form only a graceful framework and accompaniment to them. They represent that extensive cycle of events from Scripture, particularly from the Old Testament, which is known by the name of 'Raphael's Bible.' His own hand is little apparent in these works; the superintendence of them was intrusted to *Giulio Romano*, and they were executed by him and other scholars from drawings by the master.* If they fail in that perfection which characterises *Raphael*'s own work, the greater number belong to his happiest compositions. The patriarchal simplicity of the stories of the Old Testament—a simplicity so nearly allied to that of classical antiquity—affords materials well adapted to the representation of a cheerful and harmonious existence, moving in a circumscribed orbit, devoid of all exciting and disturbing elements. The contemplation of these scenes, like pure harmony in music, satisfies the mind that dwells upon them. A few only of the series are of inferior merit in composition.

These subjects are distributed in thirteen small arched spaces, each containing four pictures of historically connected scenes surrounded by a varying framework; altogether fifty-two in number. The following is a list of the subjects, with the names of those scholars of *Raphael* to whom the execution is ascribed:—

1. The Creation.—*Giulio Romano.* The figures of the Almighty are of the same type adopted by *Michael Angelo* in the roof of the Sistine Chapel, but not attaining the grandeur of those figures.

2. History of Adam and Eve.—*Giulio Romano.* The

* According to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle only one sketch by *Raphael* for these paintings has been discovered, that for the 'David and Goliath,' all the other existing drawings being by his scholars: 'Life of Raphael,' vol. ii. p. 426.

figure of Eve in the subject of the Fall was probably painted by *Raphael* himself. The Expulsion, like that by *Michael Angelo*, recalls *Masaccio*'s fresco, in the Brancacci Chapel at Florence. (See woodcut, p. 144.)

3. Subjects from the History of Noah.—*Giulio Romano.*
4. ——— of Abraham and Lot.—*Francesco Penni.*
5. ——— of Isaac.—*Francesco Penni.*
6. ——— of Jacob.—*Pellegrino da Modena.*
7. ——— of Joseph.—*Giulio Romano.*
8. ——— of Moses.—*Perino del Vaga*, or *G. Romano.*
9. ——— of Moses.—*Raffaellino dal Colle.*
10. ——— of Joshua.—*Perino del Vaga.*
11. ——— of David.—*Perino del Vaga.*
12. ——— of Solomon.—*Pellegrino da Modena.*
13. ——— the New Testament.—*Perino del Vaga*, or *Giulio Romano.* *

Thus, the subjects from the New Testament, originally concluding the series, are limited to one space. These are, the Adoration of the Shepherds and the Adoration of the Kings (the Gospel preached to rich and poor), and the two essential Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

The general purport of the frescoes of the two Stanze, which illustrate the establishment of the Church under Constantine, and its powers and privileges according to the faith of Rome, has now been explained. The other Stanza, containing the subjects of Theology, Poetry, Philosophy, and Jurisprudence, does not so directly belong to this general scheme, which may be explained by the fact of its having been the first planned; when also the remaining Stanze had been already in part decorated by *Pietro della Francesca*, *Luca Signorelli*, and other painters. It was therefore intended to be complete in itself. The works of these painters having been removed, and a fuller scope thus offered to *Raphael*, he then for the first time appears to have conceived the connected cycle which has been described.

* It is very doubtful whether these frescoes were executed in every instance by the painters to whom they are ascribed. According to Signor Morelli they are all by *Perino del Vaga*. They have been entirely repainted. The birds, &c., are by *Giovanni da Udine.*

In the second and third arcades of the same story the New Testament subjects were continued and completed by unimportant artists of a later period.

THE TAPESTRIES.*

The eleven designs for the tapestries, entirely the invention of *Raphael*, were executed in the form of cartoons in distemper colours by himself and his pupils, and chiefly by *Francesco Penni*, in 1515–16. Ten of them represent acts in the lives of SS. Peter and Paul, and belong to the grandest productions of Christian art. It is evident that the master here gave close attention to the peculiar conditions of the material to be employed, and introduced various contrivances of colour and form calculated to give due effect in tapestry. Seven of the original cartoons, formerly in Hampton Court Palace, are now deposited in the South Kensington Museum. The remaining four have disappeared. They were sent immediately after completion to Arras in Flanders, where the hangings were worked from them, and hence called by the Italians 'Arazzi.' The execution of these tapestries was superintended by *Bernhard van Orley*, a pupil of *Raphael*, who had returned to his native country. The cartoons remained at Arras, serving as models for several series. For the convenience of the workmen they were cut into strips, and the outlines pricked. In this condition the seven cartoons now familiar to us were seen in the manufactory at Arras in 1630, by *Rubens*, who recognised their worth, and effected their purchase for Charles I.

The tapestries themselves were hung for the first time in the Sistine Chapel, on St. Stephen's day, 26th of December, 1519, when they excited great enthusiasm. After that they suffered many vicissitudes, and were taken by the French soldiery at the sack of Rome, 1527; but they subsequently found their way back to the Papal possession, and are now hanging in the lower apartments of the Vatican. They are in a dilapidated condition, and that representing the

* See an exhaustive essay on the cartoons in Waagen's 'Treasures of Art in England,' vol. ii. pp. 369–410.

Coronation of the Virgin had long disappeared, but was discovered in 1873. The following are the subjects of the cartoons.

1. THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.—The cartoon of this subject has been lost, though it is possible that it may also exist among the forgotten treasures of the Vatican.* Christ and the Madonna are enthroned together; He holding the crown over her head, and she, with clasped hands, adoring. The Almighty is seen above, with four angels, the Dove hovering below them. Two Amorini support the canopy of the throne. The Baptist and St. Jerome stand below—the Baptist, the same figure as in the Madonna di Foligno. The figures of Christ and the Virgin are repeated in the altar-piece at Perugia, commenced by *Raphael* for the nuns of the convent of Monte Luce, and completed after his death.

2. THE MIRACULOUS DRAUGHT OF FISHES, or THE CALLING OF ST. PETER.—The scene represents the Sea of Gennesaret with a view of the opposite shore. This cartoon is believed to be mainly by the hand of the master. It is one of the most effective in light and transparency, and the heads are of the highest class. There are two boats, into one of which the fishermen are hauling a net with great effort. Our Lord sits at the head of the other boat. St. Peter, suddenly convinced of the miracle, is bending before him, with clasped hands. In this figure of ardent humility and adoration the master's power over expression, equally in figure, hands, and head, is concentrated. Large cranes and herons in the immediate foreground are believed to be by *Giovanni da Udine.*

3. CHRIST'S CHARGE TO PETER.—The Apostles to whom our Lord appeared at the Sea of Tiberias, after His resurrection, are here assembled in a group of utmost dignity and expression. Peter, with the keys in his hand, is kneeling before Christ, who points with one hand to them, and with the other to some sheep, as emblematic of His words, "Feed my sheep." The figure of Christ is one of the finest that art has rendered,

* There are two old engravings of the composition. See Bartsch. The original design for it is in the Oxford Museum. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Life of Raphael,' vol. ii. p. 461, &c.

otherwise the realistic representation of words used only symbolically and the absence of all dramatic action render this cartoon the least interesting.

4. THE STONING OF STEPHEN.—The figure of the kneeling Saint (see woodcut), as he prays for forgiveness of his murderers, is very fine. The apparition of the first and Second Persons of the Trinity is seen in the heavens with angels. St. Paul, seated in front of St. Stephen, stretches out his hands towards him, as if to encourage him in his martyrdom.

5. PETER AND JOHN AT THE BEAUTIFUL GATE OF THE TEMPLE, or THE HEALING OF THE LAME MAN.—The scene occurs under a portico, supported on grandly twisted and decorated columns,* by which the picture is divided into three parts. The chief group of the Apostles and the Lame Man is one of the finest *Raphael* produced. St. Peter, about to utter the words of power, "In the name of Jesus of Nazareth, rise up and walk," has grasped the hand of the cripple, who looks up at him with an expression of boundless trust, which transfigures one of the ugliest and most ill-formed faces that art ever ventured to represent. St. John's head, as he looks down on the sufferer with compassion, offers a beautiful contrast. Charming figures of women and children contrast again with this and another cripple who lies close by.

6. THE DEATH OF ANANIAS.—This is one of the finest in point of composition. The Apostles are on a raised platform; St. Peter, the most conspicuous figure, having just addressed to Ananias the words "Thou hast not lied unto man, but unto God." Their immediate effect is seen in the figure of Ananias in the foreground, suddenly struck dead by the Divine decree, while those around start back in terror. As a contrast to this, St. John, at the end of the platform, is distributing gifts to the poor. A female figure entering the scene, absorbed in counting the money in her hand, represents Sapphira.

7. THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL (see woodcut).—Paul lies

* Columns like these, in *Raphael's* time, were in the old Basilica of St. Peter's, and were believed to have been brought from the Temple at Jerusalem.

THE CONVERSION OF ST PAUL, a tapestry in the Vatican.

prostrate on the ground—alone seeing the apparition of the Saviour—his horse escaping. His armed attendants, who heard the voice but saw no light, rush eagerly towards him.

8. ELYMAS THE SORCERER STRUCK WITH BLINDNESS.—The Pro-consul Sergius is seated on his throne in the centre of the picture, with lictors, &c., at his side. In front, on the right of the spectator, is the figure of St. Paul—the most colossal in the cartoons—stretching his arm toward the sorcerer with calm dignity as he pronounces the sentence of blindness. Elymas stands on the left; the expression of the sudden darkness which has fallen on him is marvellously rendered; he moves with bent knees and open mouth, groping his way with outstretched arms. The instant fulfilment of the sentence is expressed in this instance with the same mastery as in that of the Ananias. A man gazes with intense eagerness into the face of Elymas. Consternation and wonder are visible in the bystanders; the pro-consul turns angrily toward his learned men, who stand embarrassed behind the sorcerer. (Only the upper half of the tapestry from this cartoon exists.)

9. PAUL AND BARNABAS AT LYSTRA.—A festal procession leading an ox, imitated in part from an antique bas-relief, approaches to offer sacrifice to St. Paul, before the steps of a temple. The apostle rends his garments in deprecation of the act. On one side, the man just cured of lameness, his crutches thrown down, is advancing eagerly to St. Paul, while the figure of a philosopher, stooping, raises the garment of the healed man to convince himself of the miracle. A youth, who observes the gestures of the apostle, endeavours to stop the sacrificer. This is another composition of matchless power.

10. ST. PAUL PREACHING AT ATHENS.—The apostle from the steps of a building addresses the people, who stand before him in a half-circle. His figure is very dignified; both arms are raised to heaven with an expression of earnest eloquence. The effect on the auditors is minutely varied. The different philosophical sects—Stoics, Epicureans, and others—are distinguished. The Sophists dispute; others stand in doubt, or indifference; others, full of faith, are

penetrated with the truth. A circular building in the background is of great beauty. The figure of St. Paul, greatly improved and finely adapted, was taken from *Filippino Lippi*'s representation of the same apostle in the Carmine at Florence (see woodcut, p. 160).

11. ST. PAUL IN THE PRISON OF PHILIPPI, at the time of the earthquake.—The earthquake is personified by a giant, who has rent an opening in the earth. Behind the grate of the prison the apostle is seen in prayer; in front are the guards. (A small tapestry: the cartoon no longer exists.)

The borders round these works consist of ornaments corresponding in style with those in the Loggie. The lateral divisions or pilasters are ornamented with graceful figures in the arabesque taste, generally mythological in their allusions, and in the natural colours. Below the large subjects are small compositions in the style of friezes, painted in bronze colour as stated before. Those under the series on the right are from the history of the apostles. Those under the series on the left represent incidents from the early history of Leo X. Both series give an additional proof of *Raphael*'s all-pervading taste and feeling for beauty, seen even in the most subordinate subjects.

In the same apartments of the Vatican another series of tapestries are preserved. They are twelve in number,* higher in shape, and without the ornamental accessories. They represent scenes from the life of Christ; and though *Raphael* had commenced designs for them, interrupted by his death, the greater number of them give small evidence of his mind. The cartoons are lost. The tapestries are called by the keepers of the Vatican 'Arazzi della scuola nuova,' as distinguished from the first described, called 'Arazzi della scuola vecchia.' A Flemish character is apparent in some of the designs, which makes it probable that a part at least were executed by Flemish artists, such as *Bernhard van Orley* and others. Nevertheless, certain subjects and portions of subjects bear the impress of *Raphael*'s genius. Accessories and landscape appear throughout to be

* A thirteenth, with allegorial figures alluding to the papal power, completes the series. See Passavant, 'Rafael von Urbino,' ii. 260.

APOSTLES. Designed by Raphael and engraved by Marc' Antonio

APOSTLES. designed by Raphael and engraved by Marc' Antonio

of Flemish character. It is believed that Francis I., on the occasion of the canonization of S. Francesco di Paolo, in 1519, promised the Pope these tapestries, and commissioned *Raphael* to make the designs for them. It is not probable, however, that they were executed before 1523.

We give a short account of the most remarkable of this series.

THE ADORATION OF THE KINGS.—The centre part is believed to have been designed by the great master.*

THE MURDER OF THE INNOCENTS, consisting of three portions to suit architectural forms.—These indicate the invention of *Raphael*, though not identical with the grand composition by him of the same subject engraved by *Marc' Antonio.*

DESCENT INTO LIMBUS.—*Raphael* is also recognised in this composition. The half of this tapestry was burnt in the endeavour to extract the gold portions.

DESCENT OF THE HOLY GHOST.—Though the execution of this tapestry is defective, yet there are Raphaelesque indications in the composition.

After the completion of the tapestries for Leo X., owing to the great favour in which these splendid articles of luxury were held, repetitions were executed for many other places, and thus various copies are seen in Dresden, Berlin, Madrid, Mantua, England, France, and elsewhere.†

We conclude with the Twelve Apostles, executed, with other figures, in chiaroscuro after *Raphael*'s designs, in an apartment of the Vatican. An alteration in the apartment ruined most of them, and those which survived were almost repainted by *Taddeo Zucchero.* These were probably the figures engraved by *Marc' Antonio* (see woodcuts). The same apostles were painted on the pilasters of the church of S. Vincenzo alle Tre Fontane (Rome), but by far later hands

* More probably by *Baldassare Peruzzi.*

† See Passavant, vol. ii. p. 273, for an account of these frequent, and in part contemporary, repetitions. Nine pieces of the first series, of which only "St. Paul in the Prison at Philippi" was wanting, were long in England, and are now in the Berlin Museum. They are said to have been in the possession of Henry VIII., and to have come to England at that time from Italy.

than the scholars of *Raphael*. They are now almost obliterated. They are dignified, well-draped forms, but deficient in real grandeur.

While *Raphael* was engaged on the works in the Vatican he painted (probably in 1512) the figure of Isaiah for John Goritz, a native of Luxemburg, and apostolic protonotary at the Holy See. The remains of this fresco are still to be seen in the church of S. Agostino (Rome). It shows the influence that the wonderful works of *Michael Angelo* in the Sistine Chapel had upon *Raphael*, who, it is said, endeavoured in this grand design to compete with his great rival in his own manner. The prophet of Herculean form is seated on a marble chair and holds a scroll in his left hand. Two naked boys stand on the arms of the seat and support a tablet, containing the name of Goritz and a dedication of the picture to St. Anne, the Virgin, and Christ. This fresco has frequently been retouched or repainted—in the first instance by *Daniel a Volterra*—and but little of the original work remains except the composition.*

Finally, in the latter years of his life (1518–1520), *Raphael* completed the decorations of the chapel of the little castle of La Magliana—a favourite residence of Leo X.—near the Porta Portese (Rome). Here, under Julius II., a scholar of *Perugino*, probably *Lo Spagna*, had painted the Annunciation and the Visitation. *Raphael* added, either by his own hand, or by that of one of his best scholars, the 'Martyrdom of S. Felicità,' a composition the excellence of which is now only fully preserved in *Marc' Antonio*'s engraving, the centre and principal scene having been destroyed not long ago by the barbarous introduction of a window. On the left was represented a group of men surrounding the tyrant and eagerly watching the scene, and on the right the figure of an idol with three terrified women and a naked boy, who is clinging to them. The heads are all of the finest expression. These frescoes have been transferred to canvas, and a portion of them is in the Louvre. Another fresco from the Magliana

* Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Life of Raphael,' vol. ii. p. 176, &c.

—Apollo and the Muses—is in the Gallery of the Capitol (Rome.) They were probably all painted by *Lo Spagna.*

Beside all these important works, executed by *Raphael* for the Papal Court during twelve years, many claims were made on him by private persons. Among them was the commission given him by Agostino Chigi for the Chigi Chapel in the church of S. Maria della Pace, Rome. In this chapel, the first on the right of the entrance, *Raphael* executed the four figures of the Sibyls, with angels holding tablets. They are arranged in an arched form, and interrupted by the entablature of a door. They are among the most perfect specimens of *Raphael*'s maturer pencil, combining equal grandeur and grace. An interesting comparison may be instituted between them and the Sibyls of *Michael Angelo.* In each we find the peculiar excellence of the two great masters; for while *Michael Angelo*'s figures are sublime, profound, and entirely new, the fresco of the Pace bears the impress of *Raphael*'s more serene and sympathetic grace.*

A somewhat later work by *Raphael* also proves that in the same class of subjects where *Michael Angelo*'s whole greatness was displayed, he infused that free and peculiar beauty which places them in the noblest contrast to the gigantic power of his rival. We allude to the decorations of the Chigi Chapel in the church of S. Maria del Popolo at Rome. Here it was intended that the cupola should contain the history of the Creation down to the Fall, that four statues of the Prophets should represent the Promise, and three large wall-pictures the fulfilment of the New Covenant. With the exception of the statue of the prophet Jonah,† *Raphael* only lived to see

* According to Vasari the Sibyls were painted by *Timoteo Viti;* but this appears to be one of his many erroneous statements or inventions. There is every reason to believe that *Timoteo* was not even at Rome when *Raphael* was engaged on this work. Morelli, 'It. Masters,' p. 293, &c., and see ante, p. 371. Passavant seeing a weaker hand in the Prophets than in the Sibyls, arbitrarily assigns the former to *Timoteo*, vol. i. p. 157, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle follow him, accepting Vasari's statement as to the assistance given by this painter to *Raphael*, notwithstanding that other things which he relates in connection with this work are proved to be fables. This fresco has been so completely repainted that little remains of the original but the composition.

† Only the designs for this statue and for that of Elias were made by *Raphael.* They were executed by *Lorenzetto.*

the completion of the mosaics in the cupola after his designs, by *Luigi da Pace* (*Maestro Luisaccio*) in 1516.* In the centre circle is the Almighty, with uplifted arms, in the act of creation, surrounded by seraphim. Around, in eight compartments, are the mythological half-length figures of seven planets, and a cherub as head of the planetary system. Further below are the signs of the Zodiac, and, leaning or sitting upon them, figures of angels of such marvellous and simple beauty as can only be compared to the Sibyls in S. Maria della Pace. Unfortunately the whole has been much injured.

Like all other men of genius *Raphael* is always greatest when, undisturbed by foreign influence, he follows the free, original impulse of his own mind. His peculiar element was grace and beauty of form, in as far as these are the expression of high moral purity. Hence, notwithstanding the grand works in which he was employed by the Popes, what may be called his peculiarly Raphaelesque qualities are most fully developed in his numerous Madonnas and Holy Families. In his youth he seems to have been fondest of this class of subjects; and if his earlier works of this kind bear the impress of a dreamy, sentimental fancy, and those of his second period that of a more cheerful conception of life, the works of his third period form a happy medium between cheerfulness and dignity,—innocent playfulness and a deep sense of the spirit of his subject. All are conceived with a graceful freedom, so delicately controlled that it appears always guided by the finest feeling for the laws of art. They place before us those sacred relations of life which form the foundation of morality; namely, the ties of family affection, united to higher and holier aspirations. The Madonna is not only the affectionate mother; she is, at the same time, the pure Virgin, whom all nations were to call blessed. The infant Christ is also not only the cheerful, innocent child, but a Being prophetically conscious of the mission He was to fulfil. In the numerous representations of these subjects,

* See 'I Musaici della Cupola nella Cappella Chigiana di S. M. del Popolo in Roma, inv. da Rafaele Sanzio, inc. ed. da L. Gruner, illustr. da Ant. Grifi,' Roma, 1839.

varying in the number, attitude, and grouping of the figures, the more simply natural or the more profound conception alternately prevails: they thus offer endless points of most interesting comparison. They are not all, however, by *Raphael*'s own hand; many, though painted from his designs and in his studio, have only been retouched and completed by himself: many also which bear his name are but the works of his scholars, who endeavoured to seize and appropriate some portion of the master-spirit.*

Among these works we may now particularly distinguish those of the earlier period of *Raphael*'s residence in Rome. They, as might be expected from his engrossing employments, are simple compositions, of not very considerable size. The execution, however, shows that they were painted *con amore*, and they more or less retain the traces of that deep earnestness which, we have observed, characterised his youthful works. The following are especially deserving of mention:—

The Aldobrandini, or Garvagh, Madonna (27), in the National Gallery.—The Madonna, seated on a bench, bends tenderly towards the little St. John, her left arm round him; he reaches up playfully for a flower offered to him by the infant Christ, who rests on his mother's lap. Behind the Madonna is the pilaster of an arcade, and on each side a view into the landscape beyond. The whole forms a composition of the utmost beauty and sweetness.

The Alba Madonna (26), a circular picture, in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.—The Madonna, a full-length figure, is seated in a quiet landscape, with the Child on her lap, and holding a book in her hand. The little St. John, kneeling before his Divine companion, offers him a cross, which he receives with looks of unutterable love. The Madonna's eyes are directed to the prophetic play of the children with a deep and earnest expression. This is a

* It is probable that after *Raphael* had been appointed overseer of the works at St. Peter's, and director of Antiquities, he became too much occupied with the duties of these offices to give much time to painting. He made drawings or cartoons for pictures, leaving their execution to his scholars. Consequently the pictures attributed to him during the later part of his career were probably only finished, or worked upon, by him.

beautiful picture, executed in the best and most delicate style by the master's own hand.*

'La Vierge au Diadème' (28), also called 'La Vierge au Linge,' in the Louvre.—The Madonna, kneeling, is lifting the veil from the sleeping Child, in order to show it to the little St. John, who kneels in joyful adoration. In the background a rich landscape. The execution is probably by *Giulio Romano*. Like too many in the Louvre, this picture has been much injured by repaints. Similar compositions, with a more or less free imitation of this "motive," are frequent.†

The Madonna and Child (31), from the Orleans Gallery, formerly in the possession of Mr. Rogers (the poet), and purchased at the sale of his effects by Mr. R. J. Mackintosh. —The Madonna, a half-length figure, youthful and noble, is seen behind a parapet, on which stands the Child, who, smiling, nestles close to her, holding her round the neck. The picture has now lost its surface, and is interesting in a technical point of view on account of the bright reddish undertint which is apparent. Painted in 1512.

The Madonna (half-figure) and Child (30), in the possession of Lord Ellesmere, and forming part of the Bridgewater Gallery (from the Orleans collection, and not in a good state).—The Child lies stretched on her lap; while she looks down upon him with maternal joy. Painted in 1512. Early repetitions are in the Museums of Berlin, Naples, &c.

'Madonna di Loreto' (25).—The original is supposed to be lost, but there are ancient copies of it. The best, perhaps by *Giulio Romano*, was in the possession of the late Mr. Lawrie at Florence. The composition is the Virgin lifting a veil from the just-awakening child. Joseph stands at her side, devoutly looking on.

The 'Madonna della Sedia,' or 'della Seggiola' (34), in the Pitti (painted about 1516 ‡), a circular picture—the Virgin,

* According to Crowe and Cavalcaselle ('Life of Raphael,' vol. ii., p. 126, note), much retouched and injured, partly when transferred to canvas. This picture was sold to the Hermitage in 1836 for £24,000.

† Representations of this kind, with the Child sleeping, are generally called "Silentium," "Vierge au Silence," &c. (18).

‡ This picture may have been painted as early as 1512 for Julius II.

seated on a chair, whence the name, holds the Child on her lap; he leans on her bosom in a happy, child-like attitude; at her side is the little St. John, with folded hands. She wears a gay, striped handkerchief on her shoulders, and another on her head, after the manner of Italian women, and appears as a beautiful and blooming mother, looking out of the picture in the tranquil enjoyment of maternal love. The Child, full and strong in form, has an ingenuous and grand expression. The colouring is warm and beautiful. This is perhaps the most celebrated and most universally admired of all *Raphael*'s Madonnas.

The 'Madonna della Tenda' (35), in the possession of the King of Bavaria, probably executed by *Giulio Romano* from a cartoon by *Raphael*—in the background, behind the Virgin, Child, and St. John, is a curtain: hence the Italian name of the picture.

A series of similar, but in some instances more copious compositions, belong to a later period. They are in a great measure the work of his scholars, executed from his designs, and only partially touched upon by *Raphael* himself. Indeed, many pictures of this class should, perhaps, be considered altogether as the productions of his school, at a time when that school was under his direct superintendence, and when it was enabled to imitate his finer characteristics in a remarkable degree.

In this class we must include the 'Vierge aux Candélabres' (44), where the Madonna is seated, with an angel bearing a torch on each side. The composition is of great beauty and by *Raphael*; but the picture itself is the work of inferior scholars, and has been injured by restorers. It was sold in England with the Lucca Gallery in 1840, was purchased by the late Mr. Munro, and passed into the possession of the Hon. H. Butler Johnstone.

The 'Madonna dell' Impannata' (41), in the Pitti, shows only the technical stamp of his school, and is probably by *Giulio Romano*. The two female Saints who pay homage to the Child are very beautiful; the little St. John, on the contrary, seated in the foreground, and pointing to Christ, lacks the easy grace of *Raphael*. The Child is,

however, softly and delicately painted; and here, it is probable, the master himself assisted. This picture, which is arranged more as an altar-piece than *Raphael*'s other Holy Families, takes its name from the oiled-paper window in the background.

The 'Madonna del Passeggio' (43), in Bridgewater House, formerly in the Orleans Gallery, and yet earlier in that of Christina of Sweden, may have been painted by *Francesco Penni*. It represents the Madonna and Child, full-length figures, standing in a landscape, and the little St. John about to kiss his playfellow. The children are peculiarly graceful, almost in *Raphael*'s Florentine manner; but the drapery of the Madonna is heavy, and resembles the works of later artists. There are several repetitions of this picture in the Museum of Naples and elsewhere.

In all these Holy Families of *Raphael*'s later period, whatever part he may or may not have taken in their execution, there appears a pervading character of grand and ideal beauty, which, as before remarked, is common to the works of art of this age. We no longer perceive the tender enthusiasm, the earnestness and fervour of youth; but, in their stead, a cheerful, tranquil enjoyment of life, ennobled by the purest feeling. They are not, however, glorified holy forms, which impel us to adore; they rather show us the most interesting moments of domestic life, when the sports of graceful children attract the delighted observation of parents. The greater number of these pictures consist of four figures—the Madonna, the two Children, and either Elizabeth or Joseph. Among those in which Elizabeth shares the mother's joy are the following:—

A small Holy Family in the Louvre (39).—The infant Christ stands on a cradle caressing St. John. The execution is attributed sometimes to *Giulio Romano*, sometimes to *Garofalo*.*

The so-called 'Madonna del divino amore' (32), in the Museum at Naples†—The Child, seated on the Virgin's lap,

* Signor Morelli attributes this picture to *Bagnacavallo*.

† According to Passavant, vol. i. p. 187, painted as early as 1512, which we are inclined to doubt.

is blessing the Baptist, while Elizabeth supports his little arm. The execution is attributed by some to *Giulio Romano*, but it betrays more of *Raphael*'s own hand than most of his later works.

The Holy Family, known by the name of 'the Pearl' (37), in the Gallery at Madrid, was probably painted from *Raphael*'s design by *Giulio Romano*. This picture has derived a fictitious importance from the supposed words of Philip IV. of Spain, who, having purchased it from the gallery of Charles I., is said to have exclaimed on seeing it, "This is my pearl!" It has been greatly overpraised; its dark and heavy tone render it an unattractive picture.

The 'Madonna della Gatta' (47), in the Museum at Naples, may also be mentioned here. It was executed by *Giulio Romano*, and much resembles the so-called 'Pearl.'

Among the pictures in which Joseph completes the group are several in the Museum at Madrid, particularly 'the Holy Family under the Oak' (36),—a copy in the Pitti Palace is called 'La Madonna della Lucertola,' because a lizard is there introduced; painted about 1517. Joseph leans on a piece of antique sculpture; the young Christ turns to the Baptist, who holds before him a strip of parchment with the words "Ecce Agnus Dei" The execution is chiefly, if not entirely, attributable to *Giulio Romano*. The repetition, marked as a copy by him, which is in the Pitti, is hard and cold. A composition, in which the children hold a similar piece of parchment with upraised hands, appears to have been frequently repeated by *Raphael*'s scholars. One of them, from the collection of the late Mr. Munro, passed into the possession of the Hon. H. Butler Johnstone (46).

A 'Repose in Egypt' (42), in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, is probably a joint production of *Giulio Romano* and *Penni*. The Madonna, kneeling, holds the Child in her arms; St. John also kneels and presents fruit; Joseph, leading an ass by the bridle, is in the act of raising St. John. The picture is freely and boldly painted. The Child is extremely beautiful, as is also the head of the Baptist.

The large Holy Family (38) in the Louvre was painted

by *Raphael* in 1518, with the St. Michael, for the Duke of Urbino, as a present from the Duke to Francis I.* The Madonna, half kneeling, receives the Child, who springs joyfully out of the cradle; Elizabeth, on the other side, joins the hands of the little St. John in prayer; Joseph, in the background, is seated in calm contemplation. Above are two angels—one strewing flowers over the Child, the other crossing his hands on his breast. The whole has a character of cheerfulness and joy; and an easy and delicate play of graceful lines, united with the noblest forms. *Giulio Romano* assisted in the execution of this picture.

To this cycle of Holy Families may be added the 'Visitation of Mary to Elizabeth,' now in the Madrid Gallery. The heads are fine, but the drapery clings unpleasantly to the figures. The composition is by *Raphael;* the execution probably by *Penni* or *Giulio Romano.*

The larger compositions of this later period, which represent the Virgin as Queen of Heaven, are among the most remarkable works by the great master. In these compositions, where several Saints are assembled round the Madonna, it may be observed that, although these holy personages were generally brought together arbitrarily (for various accidental reasons), yet *Raphael* has contrived to place them in a certain relation to each other, so as to establish a connection between them. The earlier masters, on the other hand, either arranged them side by side in simple symmetrical repose, or with equal caprice disposed them in various attitudes, with a view to picturesque effect. *Raphael* has left three large altar-pictures of this kind, which are interesting examples of his conceptions of the Madonna.

Of these the 'Madonna di Foligno' (29), in the Vatican, is the earliest, and of about the same date (1511) as the works in the Stanza della Segnatura. It was originally ordered for the church of Ara Cœli in Rome, by Gismondo Conti, secretary to Julius II., but was afterwards transferred to Foligno: hence its name. In the upper part of the picture is the Madonna with the Child, enthroned on the clouds

* See 'Essai d'une Analyse critique de la Notice des Tableaux Italiens du Musée national du Louvre,' by Otto Mündler, 1850.

in a glory, surrounded by angels. Underneath, on one side, kneels the donor, with clasped hands;* behind him stands St. Jerome, presenting him to her care. On the other side is St. Francis, also kneeling and looking upward, while he points with one hand out of the picture to the people below, for whom he entreats the protection of the Mother of Grace; behind him is John the Baptist, pointing to the Madonna, while he looks at the spectator as if inviting the latter to pay her homage. The relation between the picture and the community of believers, expressed by these last two figures, appears from this time variously modified in the altar-pieces of the Catholic Church. Between the two groups stands a cherub holding a tablet, intended for an inscription. In the distance is a city, on which falls a thunderbolt; above it is a rainbow—no doubt in allusion to some danger and miraculous preservation, in remembrance of which the picture was painted.

This work, however beautiful in the whole arrangement, however excellent in the execution of parts, appears to belong to a transition-state of development. There is something of that ecstatic enthusiasm which we see in the conception of religious subjects in other masters—*Correggio*, for example—and which hardly harmonizes with the unaffected and serene grace of *Raphael*. This remark is particularly applicable to the figures of the Baptist and St. Francis. The Madonna and the Child also, who turn to the donor, are in attitudes which, however graceful, are not perhaps sufficiently dignified for the majesty of the Queen of Heaven. The expression of the Madonna's countenance is extremely sweet, but belongs more to the gentle woman than to a glorified being. The figure of the donor, on the other hand, is admirable, with an expression of intense faith; while the angel with the tablet is of exquisite beauty—one of the most marvellous figures that *Raphael* has created.

The second of these pictures, the 'Madonna del Pesce' (33), has more repose and grandeur as a whole, and unites in the happiest manner the sublime and abstract character of sacred

* He is probably represented as returning thanks for his preservation from a lightning-stroke, through the miraculous interposition of the Virgin.

beings with the individuality of nature. It is now in the Madrid Gallery, but was originally painted for the church of St. Domenico, at Naples,* about 1513. It represents the Madonna and Child on a throne; on one side is St. Jerome; on the other the archangel with the young Tobias, who carries a fish (whence the name of the picture). St. Jerome, kneeling on the throne, has evidently been reading from a volume he holds, and appears to have been interrupted by the entrance of Tobias and the Angel. The infant Christ turns towards them, but at the same time lays his hand on the open book, as if to keep the place. The Virgin turns towards the Angel, who introduces Tobias; while the latter, half kneeling, gazes reverently at the Divine Infant. St. Jerome looks over the book at the new-comers, as if ready to proceed with his occupation after the interruption. All the figures are graceful and dignified.†

But the most important of this class is the 'Madonna di San Sisto' (40), in the Dresden Gallery. Here the Virgin, in a glory of cherubim, standing on the clouds with the eternal Son in her arms, appears truly as the Queen of Heaven. St. Sixtus and St. Barbara kneel on each side of her, and help to connect the composition with the real spectators; below is a light parapet, on which two beautiful boy-angels lean. A curtain, drawn back, incloses the picture on each side. The Virgin is one of the most wonderful creations of *Raphael*'s pencil. There is something indescribable in her countenance, which expresses a timid astonishment at the miracle of her own elevation, and, at the same time, the freedom and dignity resulting from the consciousness of her divine situation. The Child rests naturally, but not listlessly, in her arms, and looks down upon the world with the grandest expression. Never has the loveliness of childhood been blended so marvellously with a solemn consciousness of a high calling, as in the features and countenance of this Child. The eye is at first

* For that chapel where prayers for the recovery from all diseases of the eye were especially offered up. This accounts for the introduction of Tobias with the fish, which has puzzled so many.

† This picture was taken to Paris in 1813, and there transferred to canvas, suffering some injury in the process.

THE LAST YEARS OF RAPHAEL.

so riveted on these two figures, as hardly to do justice to the dignity of the Pope, the devotion of St. Barbara, and the rapt expression of the two angel-children. This is a rare example of a picture of *Raphael's* later time executed entirely by his own hand. No design of the subject for the guidance of a scholar, no early engraving after such design, has come to light. The execution itself evidently shows that the picture was painted without any such preparation. Proofs are not wanting even of alterations in the original composition—the two angels in the lower part are very evidently a later addition by the master's hand. According to Vasari, *Raphael* painted this picture for the principal altar of S. Sisto, at Piacenza—at least it was there in his time, and was only removed to Dresden in the last century.*

To this class belongs also the 'St. Cecilia,' executed in the earlier years † of *Raphael's* residence in Rome, and now in the Gallery of Bologna. It was originally in the church of San Giovanni a Monte there, and adorned the altar of the 'beata' Cecilia Duglioli for which it was painted. St. Cecilia stands in the centre, with four Saints—SS. John and Augustin, SS. Paul and Mary Magdalen—two on each side. Above, in the clouds, is a glory of singing angels. At the feet of the Magdalen lie musical instruments partly broken—exquisitely painted. St. Cecilia raises her eyes to the Angels, and appears to listen to their song. She holds a small organ reversed, with its tubes falling out, indicating, like the other scattered and broken instruments, the relation of earthly to heavenly music. St. John—whose head is of great beauty—regards the inspired countenance of the Saint with holy rapture; St. Augustin is more tranquil. St. Paul, a noble figure in grand drapery, looks thoughtfully down on the instruments, whose sounds have ceased. The Magdalen, whose mild expression reminds us of

* See account of its reception in Dresden, &c., 'Introduction to Catalogue of the Dresden Gallery,' by Julius Hübner. This picture has been much damaged, chiefly from injudicious restorations. The infant Christ has especially suffered. The sum paid for it by the King of Saxony was 220,000 francs.

† It appears to have been completed in 1516. The inscription in the chapel in which it was placed is comparatively modern, and hence no authority. See Passavant, i. 181, note.

Raphael's youthful pictures, turns to the spectator, directing his attention to the holy scene. There thus appears in the expression of this simply-arranged group a progressive sympathy, of which the revelation made to St. Cecilia forms the central point.*

Two more altar-pictures close this series, each containing only a single figure—namely, that of St. Margaret triumphing over the Dragon.† One is in the Gallery of Vienna. It represents the Saint issuing from a cave with the monster crouching at her feet, while she raises the crucifix against it. This picture betrays *Michael Angelo*'s influence in attitude and gesture, and is probably by the hand of *Giulio Romano*. The second is in the Louvre, and is said to have been originally painted for Francis I. It is of *Raphael*'s later time, and the greater part is by *Giulio Romano*. Here St. Margaret is seen trampling on the prostrate Dragon, holding in her right hand the palm of victory. Her countenance expresses maidenly innocence and grace. This picture has been almost wholly destroyed by its transfer from wood to canvas.

The Archangel Michael, in the gallery of the Louvre, is a very remarkable picture, painted, as before stated, by *Raphael* for a Duke of Urbino as a present to Francis I., in 1517. Like a flash of lightning the heavenly champion darts upon Satan, who lies writhing at his feet. He wears a breastplate of armour, and wields a lance in his hands, with which he is aiming at his antagonist. The grandeur, beauty, and calm majesty of the Archangel, the rapidity of the movement, and the bold foreshortening of Satan, have a most impressive effect ‡ (see woodcut).

In various galleries we find representations of John the Baptist in the wilderness as a youth clothed in a panther skin,

* The musical instruments were probably painted by *Giovanni da Udine*, and *Giulio Romano* assisted *Raphael* in the execution of this picture, which has suffered in its transfer, at Paris, to canvas and from restoration.

† The legend (from Simeon Metaphrastes) will be found in Lippomanus, 'De Vitis Sanctorum,' ii. 165: see also Mrs. Jameson's 'Poetry of Sacred and Legendary Art,' vol. ii. p. 130.

‡ This picture was probably executed in great part by *Giulio Romano*. It was transferred to canvas, and has suffered much injury.

ST. MICHAEL: by Raphael, in the Louvre

seated fronting the spectator, and pointing to a cross erected beside him, attributed to *Raphael*. The best specimen of this oft-repeated picture is in the Uffizi, and it is believed that those in the Louvre, in the Bologna Gallery, at Darmstadt, and elsewhere, are all taken from it. A drawing by *Raphael* for it in red chalk, in the collection of the Uffizi is so far finer in many respects than the picture in the same gallery, that there is little doubt that even that specimen is in a great measure the work of a scholar, probably *Giulio Romano*, and only completed after the master's death. A good and somewhat later copy, ascribed to *Francesco Salviati*, is in the Berlin Museum.*

Two large historical altar-pictures belonging to *Raphael*'s later period, but executed in great part from his cartoons, still claim our attention. The earlier of the two is the picture of Christ bearing the Cross, in the Museum of Madrid, known by the name of 'Lo Spasimo di Sicilia,' from the convent of Santa Maria dello Spasimo † at Palermo, for which it was painted (see woodcut). The procession which conducts the Saviour to Mount Calvary has just reached a turn in the road. He has sunk under the weight of the cross; an executioner, who stands at the edge of the picture (an academic figure of athletic form, somewhat ostentatiously displayed), endeavours to pull Him up by the rope which is passed round His body. The Saviour, regardless of His own sufferings, turns His face consolingly to the group of women who press near to Him on the opposite side. The Virgin, her arms extended in despair towards her Son—an action traditionally preserved from an early time—sinks on her knees, supported by St. John and the Magdalen. Behind them follow a procession of soldiers from the gates of the city; a standard-bearer on horseback, heading the group, already turns in the direction of the mountain seen in the background. Amidst this combination of varied forms, the figure of Christ is kept distinct with great art. The head, with an expression of patience and divine sorrow, forms the

* Compare Rumohr, 'Ital. Forsch.' iii. 135.

† The word "Spasimo" is in allusion to the spasm or convulsion, in other words the fainting, of the Madonna.

central point of the composition: the heads of the executioners, of Simon, and of the women surround it as in a half-circle.*

The later of the two pictures to which we have referred is the 'Transfiguration,' now in the Vatican, formerly in the church of S. Pietro in Montorio (Rome). This, the master's last work (not finished till after his death), was suspended over his body, as it lay in state† (see woodcut).

If the 'Spasimo' be distinguished, like the compositions for the Tapestries, by the dramatic development of an historical event, the work now under consideration unites with these qualities a profounder symbolical treatment, which we will endeavour to make clear. The picture is divided into two parts, the lower of which, from the number of the figures, is the more important. On one side are nine of the Disciples, on the other a crowd of people pressing towards them, bearing along a boy possessed with an evil spirit. His limbs are fearfully convulsed by demoniac power; he is supported by his father, who appears strenuously to implore assistance by words and looks. Two women beside him, both kneeling, point to the sufferer—the one with earnest entreaties, the other in the front, with an expression of passionate energy. All are crying aloud, beseeching, and stretching out their arms for aid. Among the disciples, who are disposed in different groups, astonishment, horror and sympathy alternate in various degrees. One whose youthful countenance expresses the deepest sympathy, turns to the unhappy father, plainly intimating his inability to assist him; another points upwards; a third repeats this gesture. The upper part of the picture represents Mount Tabor, on which the three disciples lie prostrate. Above them is the figure of the Saviour floating

* The composition is evidently imitated from *Albert Dürer*—*Marc' Antonio* had copied the German artist's designs for the 'Passion.' This picture suffered much by its transfer to canvas, and subsequent over-cleaning, when taken to Paris. The colour is now in parts "bricky" and raw.

† A considerable part of the 'Transfiguration,'—about one-third—was painted by *Raphael's* scholars. The upper part, and the left hand side of the lower part of the picture are apparently by his own hand. The lower part to the right is mostly by *Giulio Romano*.

THE TRANSFIGURATION, by Raphael, Vatican Gallery.

in glory, Moses and Elijah on either side. The twofold action contained in this picture, which has been much criticised, is explained historically by the fact that the incident of the possessed boy occurred in the absence of Christ. But it may be taken in a higher and more universal sense: the lower portion, namely, as representing the calamities and miseries of human life—the power of evil, and the weakness even of the Faithful when unassisted; the upper portion as the abode of Divine consolation and redemption from evil, to which alone all sufferers in this world are directed for help. Still, like most pictures of symbolical purpose, the 'Transfiguration' by *Raphael* fails to enlist earnest sympathy. In its present condition also, it offers little charm even in a pictorial sense. The painter is stated to have used materials which blackened all colours with which they were mixed, so that a fine effect of chiaroscuro, in which the lower part was treated, is now lost in opacity and darkness.

We must not pass over a picture which *Raphael* had undertaken in his youth (1505), but which was not finished till after his death by his executors and heirs, *Giulio Romano* and *Francesco Penni*. It is the 'Coronation of the Virgin,' painted for the convent of S. Maria di Monte Luce at Perugia, and now in the Vatican. If any design by *Raphael* was made use of, it could only have been for the upper portion of the picture, the execution of which is attributed to *Giulio Romano*. The lower part, executed by *Francesco Penni*, in which the Apostles are assembled around the empty tomb of the Virgin, is weak and ineffective.

The very inferior picture of St. Luke painting the Virgin (2), which has been attributed to *Raphael*, has no claim whatever to be considered a work by him.

We now proceed to *Raphael*'s portraits, of which he produced a large number, and in his best time. Their chief excellence—and the same may be said of those executed in his earlier period—resides in their unaffected conception and characteristic expression. Still, those of a later date are the more instructive, as no assistance in the essential parts could be given by his scholars. We give the most interesting both of his earlier and maturer time.

There are none more fascinating than the portraits of Agnolo Doni, a Florentine merchant, and Maddalena Strozzi, his wife, in the Pitti, executed during *Raphael*'s second sojourn in Florence, from 1504 to 1505, and when he was under the influence of *Leonardo da Vinci*. These are works of indescribable charm, in which the master's inherent purity and grace are the more conspicuous from the timidity of hand and drawing, which betokens the inexperienced portrait painter. They are so carefully executed that the single hairs are given. Agnolo Doni is seated with his left arm on a balustrade, his right hand in his lap. The beautiful Maddalena has laid her right hand over her left; a delicate chain with pearl ornament is round her throat.

A third portrait in the Pitti, a young woman, name unknown, is of this same attractive class.

Raphael's own portrait, believed to have been executed about 1506 for his friends in Urbino, is in the collection of portraits in the Uffizi. It represents a head of delicate beauty, with brown eyes and hair, but is much injured.

The portrait of Bindo Altoviti (erroneously held to be *Raphael*'s own portrait),* now in the Gallery at Munich, was formerly in the Casa Altoviti at Rome. The head is that of a youth of about twenty years of age, with long fair hair and a black cap, looking over his shoulder at the spectator; his hand on his breast. It is a fine Italian countenance, full of sensibility. The colouring is powerful, with dark shadows.

The 'Fornarina' is a name applied to one supposed to have been *Raphael*'s mistress—regarding which name, as it only occurs in comparatively modern works, great doubt has arisen. It would appear to have been invented to suit a story of *Raphael*'s having attached himself to the daughter of a potter in or near Urbino. Altogether the history of *Raphael*'s love for a beautiful woman of low origin is vague, (although there can scarcely be any doubt from Vasari's

* Rumohr considers it a portrait of *Raphael*. See 'Ital. Forsch,' vol. iii. p. 109, and further. This is, however, disproved by Passavant, vol. i. p. 185, and vol. ii. p. 143. Signor Morelli states that the portrait has been entirely repainted, and writes disparagingly of it ('It. Masters,' pp. 84, 85).

statement that he left a mistress when he died); nor can the portraits of her be identified with any certainty. In one in the Barberini Palace at Rome, which bears the master's name on the armlet, she is represented seated, semi-nude, holding up her garment beneath her breast, and with her left hand on some red drapery in her lap. But this picture, which has very little merit, was probably painted after *Raphael*'s death by *Giulio Romano*, or another of his scholars.

Another portrait, also called *Raphael*'s mistress, is in the Pitti, known as 'La Velata,' from the veil which falls from her head. Although among the most beautiful and authentic of the master's works, it is still described in the catalogue as by an unknown hand. The resemblance between this portrait and the Virgin in the 'Madonna di S. Sisto' justifies the surmise that the same model—a woman of the noblest Roman type—sat for both.*

The so-called 'Fornarina' in the Tribune of the Uffizi has long been adjudged by connoisseurs to *Sebastian del Piombo*, and surmised to be the portrait of the Improvvisatrice Beatrice da Ferrara, with whose reputation the ideal costume and gold enamelled wreath are in keeping.†

Another so-called 'Fornarina,' formerly at Blenheim, and now in the Berlin Museum, is also believed to be by *Sebastian del Piombo*. This picture is dated 1512. Other portraits which bear the name of the 'Fornarina' may be passed over.

There are several repetitions of *Raphael*'s portrait of Pope Julius II. The best, probably by the master himself, is in the Tribune of the Uffizi. That in the Pitti has been ascribed to *Giovanni da Udine*. There is a good replica in the National Gallery. The old man, in a red robe, is represented seated in an arm-chair in deep meditation.

* Signor Minghetti believes that the 'Velata' is the portrait of *Raphael*'s mistress, which, according to Vasari, came after the master's death into the possession of Matteo Botti, a Florentine merchant. See the subject fully discussed in his 'Raffaello,' sec. xxii.

† According to an hypothesis of Missirini (Longhena, p. 390), the picture was painted by *Sebastian del Piombo* after a design by *Michael Angelo*, and represents Vittoria Colonna, Marchesa di Pescara, the friend of *Michael Angelo*.

Pope Leo X., with Cardinals de' Medici and de' Rossi, in the Pitti.—The Pope sits at a table, a magnifying-glass in his left hand, an illuminated breviary and a richly-carved silver bell before him; the Cardinals are behind, on each side. The principal merits of this work are, the characteristic expression of the three different heads, the truth of imitation in the accessories, and the mastery displayed in the management of the general tone.*

The 'Violin Player' ('Suonatore'), in the Sciarra Palace, at Rome.—A youth holding the bow of a violin and a laurel-wreath in his hand, and looking at the spectator over his shoulder. This is a work of great charm, although very much repainted, and is believed to be a portrait of Antonio Marone, an Improvvisatore from Brescia. The execution is excellent. It is inscribed with the date 1518.

Joanna of Aragon, in the Louvre.—This is the best of the numerous repetitions of this picture, and may be partly by *Raphael* himself.† A copy, apparently by a Flemish imitator of *Leonardo da Vinci*, is in the Doria Gallery, at Rome. This picture represents a lady in the bloom of youth in a splendid red costume, who sits fronting the spectator; the outline of the face and features is pure and soft, though with little expression; the large dark eyes, of velvet softness, are turned to the spectator. Joanna was the daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon, Duke of Montalto, and wife of Ascanio Colonna, Prince of Tagliacozzo. She was surnamed "divine," from her beauty. Three hundred poets employed their pens to hand down her fame to posterity.

The following also belong to *Raphael*'s most intellectual portraits. Count Castiglione, the friend of *Raphael*—a noble and dignified head, and a youth resting his head on his hand, both in the Gallery of the Louvre; Cardinal Inghirami writing, looking upwards with a serious, thoughtful expression,‡ and Bibiena, First Secretary to the Conclave, both in the Pitti Palace—the first is remarkable for the

* For an account of the copy by *Andrea del Sarto* in the Museum of Naples, see p. 460.

† Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Life of Raphael,' vol. ii. pp. 404, 405.

‡ Only the head is probably by *Raphael*.

skill in which *Raphael* has converted a head of flat and coarse features, with a defect in one eye, into a subject of great character and attraction; * a Cardinal, name unknown, in the Madrid Gallery, one of the most admirable and best preserved of *Raphael*'s portraits; and *Francesco Penni*, *Raphael*'s scholar, formerly in the collection of the King of Holland, at the Hague. The two lawyers, Bartolo and Baldo, in the Doria Gallery, Rome, are excellent heads, which may be safely ascribed to *Raphael*. But many of the portraits which bear *Raphael*'s name are entitled to this distinction only in a very subordinate degree; many even belong to an essentially different school. Among this class may be mentioned the portrait of Fed. Carondelet, Archdeacon of Bitunto, in the possession of the Duke of Grafton, in London; and those known in the Louvre by the names of 'Raphael and his Fencing Master,' by some attributed to *Giulio Romano*. An interesting portrait in the Borghese Gallery, Rome, said to be that of Cæsar Borgia and ascribed to *Raphael*, is neither the portrait of that Prince nor the work of *Raphael*. It is probably by *Bronzino*.

With the exception of the portraits just enumerated, the works of *Raphael* hitherto described are for the most part representations from sacred history. Some subjects taken from classic history still remain to be mentioned. *Raphael* did not employ these materials, as has been sometimes the practice, in a pedantic and merely learned manner; he made no attempt to reproduce the habits and strict costume of the ancients, but rather adapted them to his own fancy, as affording the opportunity for the introduction of graceful forms in apartments devoted to festal purposes. In these productions, therefore, we again perceive the artist's peculiar feeling for beauty, and its appropriate application.

This style he had already aimed at in the subordinate decorations of the Vatican Loggie. It appears in a much more important form in some larger works, especially in the frescoes in the Roman villa belonging to Agostino Chigi, the wealthy Sienese banker, for which he made the designs, but which were probably executed by *Giulio Romano*, *Penni*,

* Both these portraits are believed to be copies from the originals.

and other scholars of the master. This villa now bears the name of the Farnesina, from its later possessors of the house of Farnese. On the ceiling of a large hall facing the garden are represented, in ten triangular spaces, scenes from the fable of Psyche, from Apuleius. On the flat part are two large compositions, with numerous figures—the Judgment of the Gods, who decide the dispute between Venus and Cupid, and the Marriage of Cupid and Psyche.* In the fourteen lunettes are Amorini, with the attributes of those Gods who have done homage to the power of Love. Among the groups, illustrative of the incidents in the fable, are several of great beauty and skill in the arrangement of the subject in a given space. The composition of the Three Graces; that in which Cupid stands in an imploring attitude before Jupiter; and a third, where Psyche is borne away by Loves, are extremely graceful. The heaviness of the forms, the chief defect of these frescoes, may be generally attributed to *Giulio Romano;* the colour again, is not even that of *Raphael*'s scholars, as the whole work was restored and much repainted by *Carlo Maratta.*

In the same villa, in an adjoining saloon, is the fresco, known by the name of the 'Galatea,' taken from the Cyclops of Philostratus; painted in 1514. It represents the goddess borne over the waves in a shell; tritons and sea-nymphs sport around her in the waves; Amorini discharge their arrows in the air. This is one of the most beautiful compositions that art has produced, imbued with a sense of life and enjoyment that is perfectly enchanting. Yet with all this, and in a scene of strictly Pagan and sensual imagination, the purity of the feeling becomes a main element in its beauty. With the exception of the group to the right of the goddess, this fresco is entirely by *Raphael*'s own hand. It is consequently much superior in execution to the others. It has been much repainted in parts.

* Two charming drawings, nearly six feet long, still exist of the two large ceiling representations, called the Feast of the Gods, and the Marriage of Cupid and Psyche. They are slightly coloured, and only partially finished; nevertheless, they so far surpass the frescoes in beauty, that we are inclined to take them for *Raphael*'s own designs. We know not where they are now.

Other charming representations of mythological subjects, though much injured, are in the bath-room of Cardinal Bibiena, in the third story of the Vatican above *Raphael*'s Loggie; wrongly called 'il Ritiro di Giulio II.' This room was decorated in the antique taste—the walls of a dark red ground, and with seven gracefully designed compartments, each containing subjects alluding to the power of Love. These were designed by *Raphael* and executed by his scholars. The Birth of Venus, Venus and Cupid on Dolphins, and Cupid complaining to Venus of his wound, are the most graceful. Beneath them, on a black ground, are figures of Amorini, exemplifying the various devices and varying progress of Love—one, in a shell, drawn by butterflies; another in a shell, drawn by tortoises; a third harnessing a pair of snakes; a fourth drawn by snails, &c. On the ceiling are numerous designs, most of them so injured as hardly to be visible. Cupid wrestling with Pan, a charming conceit, is still seen. Repetitions of these designs are seen in a villa erected on the ruins of the palace of the Cæsars, known as the Villa Spada (also as the Villa Santini, Magnani, Mills, &c., according to its successive owners). Other mythological frescoes attributed to *Raphael* and *Giulio Romano* were formerly in the so-called 'Villa Raphael,' or 'Villa Madama,' * in the gardens of the Borghese Palace, now no longer existing. The three chief compositions by different painters have been detached from the walls and removed to the Borghese Palace. One represents the Nuptials of Alexander and Roxana, from the description of a picture in Lucian, and is an inferior production from an excellent design by *Bazzi*, preserved in the Albertina at Vienna. The Marriage of Vertumnus and Pomona, the second picture, is the composition of one of *Raphael*'s scholars. The third is an imitation of a masterly composition by *Michael Angelo;* naked figures, darting impetuously through the air, are aiming their arrows at a statue of Hermes, while Cupid lies slumbering by.

* No early authority speaks of this house as *Raphael*'s villa; the decorations it contained were copied not only from *Raphael*, but from various masters.

In once more reviewing the enormous number of *Raphael*'s creations in art, we must be allowed to repeat that he directed the works of St. Peter's, from his own plan, from the middle of the year 1514; that he executed several other architectural works; that in the latter years of his life he was zealously occupied in superintending the exhumation of the monuments of antiquity, and in designing a restoration of ancient Rome; that he distinguished himself by two remarkable works in sculpture,* and that he died in his thirty-seventh year. When we consider these facts, we shall be filled with astonishment at the inexhaustibly creative power of this master—a power never equalled in the same perfection. Other masters, in their single works, perhaps in a great part of them, may claim a place beside him, but none have had the energy to maintain such unvarying excellence. In this respect *Raphael*, without any exception, is the most distinguished master of modern times. And if, even in his case, we find some less perfect productions, some occasional tendency toward a more superficial manner, this only proves that, great as he was, he shared the lot of all that is human.

Raphael died of a short and violent fever. Unutterable was the sorrow which filled all classes in Rome, high and low—the Pope, the court, the friends and pupils of the artist. 'I cannot believe myself in Rome,' writes Count Castiglione, 'now that my poor *Raphael* is no longer here.' His body lay in state under a splendid catafalque in his own house, with his last work, the 'Transfiguration,' suspended over his head. He was buried in the Pantheon, under an altar adorned by a statue of the Holy Virgin, a consecration-offering from *Raphael* himself. The supposed skull of the great master had long been treasured in the Academy of St. Luke at Rome, when, doubts having been raised as to the precise spot of his interment, a search was made in the Pantheon in 1833, and the remains were found entire in a situation agreeing exactly with Vasari's description. The skull, of which a cast was taken, was of a fine form. Thirty-one teeth were perfect

* As it has been already stated, it is doubtful whether he did more than give the designs for these works in sculpture.

the thirty-second just appearing. The skeleton measured five feet seven inches, and the width of the coffin indicated a very slender frame. The relics were placed in a magnificent sarcophagus presented by the Pope, and re-interred in the same spot with great solemnities.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE SCHOLARS AND FOLLOWERS OF RAPHAEL.

WE have already remarked that *Raphael* employed a large number of scholars and assistants, who all endeavoured to acquire his style, and who after his death transplanted it into various parts of Italy. The conquest and pillage of Rome by the French in 1527 also contributed to disperse the school. But this appropriation of *Raphael*'s qualities by his scholars was, as we have before said, a very questionable advantage; for as the real excellence of *Raphael*'s art proceeded exclusively from his individual feeling, no imitation of external manner and forms could supply its place. The works of *Raphael*'s scholars are consequently often cold, formal, and insipid; it is only in a few exceptions that an original creative spirit displays itself. On the whole, they do not possess the pleasing character of *Leonardo*'s school, nor that of the followers of the Venetian masters, of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak.

The most celebrated of *Raphael*'s scholars was *Giulio Pippi de' Januzzi*, surnamed *Giulio Romano* (b. 1498*–d. 1546). He was an artist of a vigorous, daring spirit, gifted with a freedom of hand which gave life and animation to the bold and restless creations of his fancy. As long as he painted under *Raphael* he not only closely imitated the master's touch, but adopted, as far as his own individuality allowed, something of *Raphael*'s modes of thought in invention; so that many pictures attributed to the great teacher are by the scholar. Among the paths of art opened to him

* According to Vasari, he was born in 1492, and this date is usually assigned by writers on art to his birth, which, however, is now proved by documentary evidence to have taken place in 1498.

by *Raphael* was especially that of the antique, to which *Giulio* eagerly turned, not only for the choice of his subjects, but with a view to make its forms and general style his own. But he altogether wanted the grace and purity of his master; and when the death of the latter freed him from restraint, his coarse and impetuous impulses gradually took the lead. And when, later, he left the precincts and salutary influence of Rome, where the classic genius of the place seemed to control his taste, all trace of the scholar of *Raphael*, except in the most general features of external form, vanishes. His co-operation in *Raphael*'s works has already been frequently alluded to. In conjunction with *Gianfrancesco Penni*, he was left executor to *Raphael*'s will, and heir to his drawings and designs.

In October 1524 *Giulio Romano* commenced with *Il Fattore*, his fellow pupil under *Raphael*, the paintings in the Sala di Costantino, in the Vatican. He was occupied, at the same time, either in executing frescoes himself, or in furnishing cartoons for them to his scholars, in other places at Rome, as in the Villa Lante (now a monastery), which was built from his design.* Scenes also from Roman history, referring to Janus, in small, playful compositions, and a large frieze † in an upper saloon of the Farnesina Palace, have been attributed to him, but are now believed to be the work of *Baldassare Peruzzi*.‡ Foremost among the pictures by his hand is an altar-piece of the Martyrdom of St. Stephen, painted immediately after *Raphael*'s death, for S. Stefano at Genoa, and which, after having been taken to Paris, was restored to that church. The figure of the martyr is young and beautiful, and that of St. Paul, Raphaelesque. The figures on the right are the best; those on the left are in his coarser taste. The landscape is rich and brilliant, and altogether this picture has been a noble work, but is now in a bad state, and much darkened. In the Dresden Gallery is a Holy Family of equal merit, belonging to the period

* 'Peintures de la Villa Lante de l'invention de Jules Romain, rec. par les frères Piranesi, dess. par Th. Piroli.'

† 'Il Fregio di Giulio Romano dip. nella Farnesina, dis. ed inc. da B. Pinelli.' Rome, 1813.

‡ See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'History of Painting in Italy,' vol. iii. p. 393.

when *Giulio*'s independence commenced. The Virgin is preparing to wash the Child, who is standing in a basin, while the little St. John playfully pours in the water. The picture has thus a familiar domestic character. It is beautifully drawn and cleverly painted. The composition has been ascribed to *Raphael;* but, with all its excellence, it is evidently not by the great master. The fine but much injured picture above the high altar in the church of S. Maria dell' Anima at Rome—the Madonna enthroned with angels and saints, surrounded with rich architecture—belongs also to this latter period. It was originally painted for the Fugger family of Augsburg.

Four years after *Raphael*'s death, *Giulio* was invited to Mantua, where he laboured equally as painter and architect. Indeed, he built half Mantua anew, not only erecting a number of palaces and churches, but directing their decorations in the style of *Raphael*'s Loggie, and adorning them with large frescoes. For this purpose he assembled a number of scholars around him, who took a share in the execution of these works. To his earliest labours there belong, as it appears, the paintings in the old Ducal Palace, which unfortunately suffered much in the wars and devastations which befel the city. In an apartment on the ground-floor—in the Uffizio della Scalcheria—are some beautiful works by him, with lunettes representing Diana at the Chase, with graceful figures, in which we still perceive some reminiscence of *Raphael*'s engaging *naïveté*. An upper saloon of the building was filled by *Giulio* with frescoes from the history of the Trojan war; they are inferior to those just mentioned, and already betray a marked insipidity of mind and manner. The artist still further departed from the noble spirit of his great master in the numerous frescoes in the Palazzo del Te, near Mantua. Two saloons are filled with subjects. The first contains the 'Overthrow of the Giants,'* a performance in which he has been unadvisedly compared to *Michael*

* "Giove che fulmina li Giganti, rappresentato in pittura da *Giulio Romano*, ecc. dis. ed int. da Pietor Santi Bartolo," Rome. The execution of this apartment was consigned to *Rinaldo Montovano;* but that he was not the designer, as was formerly maintained, is proved by Gaye, in the Kunstbl. 1838, No. 71, and further. See also Gaye, Cartegg. ii. p. 257.

Angelo. The apartment is coved in form, so that all corners and angles are avoided. On the ceiling we look up into the abode of the assembled Gods; the Winds are introduced in the pendentives; the giants, crushed by rocks and falling buildings, are represented on the walls. Though uncouth in size, they are destitute of real power (see woodcut). The second room represents the history of Psyche and other Loves of the Gods; but here, with very few graceful groups, we find an almost total indifference to beautiful and noble forms, as well as to pure colouring. These faults cannot be altogether laid to the charge of assistants. A coarseness of conception is also visible throughout, which, in some of the subjects, exceeds all bounds of propriety.*

Comparatively few easel-pictures by *Giulio Romano* exist, except such as were executed from designs by *Raphael*, and pass for the works of that master. In the sacristy of St. Peter's (Rome) is a Madonna, half-length figure, with the two Children, which belongs to his earlier and more careful period. A 'Flagellation,' in the sacristy of S. Prassede (Rome), is more mannered; a group of three almost nude figures is distinguished by an unpleasant brick-red colour in the flesh-tints. In the Gallery of the Louvre the master is represented by several characteristic works—a finely painted Madonna with both the Children; a spirited portrait, incorrectly believed to be of himself; the Triumph of Vespasian and Titus over Judæa; a Nativity; and some cartoons executed for tapestry. Two Madonnas, after a somewhat robust model, with the Infant Christ in petulant action, are in the Borghese Gallery; a similar picture is in the Colonna Palace; all three are probably of his early time. Several pictures by him are in English collections; the best is the so-called 'Education of Jupiter by Nymphs and Corybantes'—a bold and poetically conceived scene, with a rich river-side landscape of careful execution and powerful colouring—now in the National Gallery.

* "Colossal figures in a small room, even where the idea of colossal size is intended to be conveyed, are unsatisfactory, as the spectator is quite near enough to perceive details, and finds none except those belonging to the execution of the work, which ought not to be visible. This unpleasant effect is produced in the Sala de' Giganti, by *Giulio Romano*, at Mantua."—C. L. E.

The numerous scholars formed in Mantua by *Giulio Romano* followed the unpleasing manner of their master, and in some instances exaggerated it. The most important are the Mantuans, *Rinaldo* and *Fermo Guisoni* (a clever 'Crucifixion' by the latter is in the church of S. Andrea in Mantua), and the renowned miniature-painter *Giulio Clovio*,* by whom there is a missal, painted for Cardinal Farnese, in the library at Naples; the beautiful bronze-work on the cover being by *Benvenuto Cellini*. The later miniatures in an Urbino manuscript of Dante, now in the library of the Vatican, are the work of *Clovio*. The paltry conceits of the allegories disturb the otherwise excellent execution.

Among *Giulio Romano's* scholars and imitators, *Francesco Primaticcio* deserves special mention. He was born at Bologna in 1504, and died in France in 1570.† He probably learnt the rudiments of his art from *Innocenzo da Imola*, and afterwards passed into the atelier of *Bagnacavallo*, of whom he may be considered the pupil. He subsequently placed himself under *Giulio Romano*, when that painter was engaged on the decoration of the Palazzo del Te at Mantua, and was employed by him in executing the stuccoes, some of great beauty, which adorn the halls in that edifice. The reputation which he gained by them and other works led to his being invited to France by Francis I., for whom, and his three successors, he executed numerous works of decoration. Replacing the Florentine painter *il Rosso*, known in France as *le Roux*, he became Commissary General of public buildings, and, by virtue of his office, director of the works of architecture, painting and sculpture ordered by those Monarchs. In the Palace of Fontainebleau he executed decorations in fresco and stucco similar to those by *Giulio Romano* at Mantua, imitating that painter's style and manner. As a reward for his labours Francis I. created him Abbot of St. Martin. The principal work of *Primaticcio* in that royal residence—the Gallery of

* *Giulio Clovio* was a native of Dalmatia, born in Grizäne, in the district of Vinodol, between Bakarac and Bribir. His name was *Glovicic*. Sansoni's 'Vasari,' vol. vii. p. 557—note.

† Sansoni's 'Vasari,' vol. 7 p. 406—note.

Ulysses—has perished; * but much-injured frescoes by him are still to be seen there. The greater part of the many works upon which he was engaged in France no longer exist. His easel pictures are very rare. The last catalogue of the Louvre only mentions one—an undraped full-length figure of Diana at Fontainebleau. In the collection of Lord Carlisle at Castle Howard there is a picture by him representing the return of Ulysses—a work of noble character and careful execution, but weak in colour. *Primaticcio*'s figures are generally over slender and affected. He appears to have exercised considerable influence upon the French school of art of the time.

Niccolò dell' Abbate was *Primaticcio*'s assistant in the works which he undertook in France. He was born at Modena, but, judging from a Ferrarese influence apparent in some of his productions, he appears to have learnt his art under a master of the Ferrarese school. In his native city in the Palazzo del Commune, a series of paintings in a simple, noble style, free from mannerism, are attributed to him; they are, however, believed to be by *Parmigianino*. A beautiful 'Adoration of the Shepherds' by him is in the Portico de' Leoni at Bologna. The subjects he executed on the walls of the Castle of Scandiano, from the Æneid,† have less merit. The Gallery of Dresden has a large altar-picture by him, representing the Martyrdom of St. Paul; it is, however, more mannered than the works before referred to, and contains reminiscences of *Dosso Dossi*, thus showing the school from which *Niccolò* originally proceeded. An excellent 'Rape of Proserpine,' in a rich, fantastically lighted landscape, is in the Stafford House Gallery.

Another of *Raphael*'s scholars was the Florentine *Pierino Buonaccorsi*, called *Perino del Vaga* (b. 1500–d. 1547). His Madonnas and other subjects in various collections show his imitation of *Raphael*, though without his depth or

* The historical representations by *Primaticcio* at Fontainebleau, are known to us by the work of Theodore van Thulden, 'Les travaux d'Ulisse peints à Fontainebleau par le Primatice,' with 58 plates, lightly and spiritedly etched—published in 1633.

† 'L'Eneide di Virgilio dip. in Scandiano dal celebre pitt. Niccolò Abati dis. dal Gius. Guizzardi, inc. dal Ant. Gajani ecc.'—Modena, 1821.

beauty. He was endowed, however, with a peculiar lightness and facility of execution. The rapid degeneration of his style is still more striking than in *Giulio Romano*. Beside the above mentioned works *Perino* executed, under *Raphael*'s superintendence, or at all events from his designs, the figures of the planets in the great hall of the Appartamento Borgia, in the Vatican. After the sacking of Rome he went to Genoa, and there decorated the Doria Palace with stuccoes and frescoes in a style similar to that adopted by *Giulio Romano* at Mantua, the subjects of the frescoes being taken from classic fables. At a later period *Perino* returned to Rome, where he opened a studio, in which, however, little beside mechanical works were produced. A 'Nativity,' with four saints, of the year 1534, formerly in Cardinal Fesch's gallery at Rome, combines with a spirited and light treatment intrinsic emptiness and feebleness. A portrait of Cardinal Pole, in the collection of Lord Spencer at Althorp, belongs, on the other hand, like most of the portraits of this school, to the best specimens of the master. Among the numerous scholars whom he formed at Genoa, *Lazzaro*, and *Pantaleo Calvi*, and *Gianbattista Castelli* of Bergamo are favourably mentioned.

Gianfrancesco Penni, surnamed '*Il Fattore*' (b.1488-d. 1528) the brother-in-law of *Perino del Vaga*, was, with the exception of *Giulio Romano*, *Raphael*'s most trusted scholar. His works are rare, as he died in early life eight years after *Raphael*. In Naples, where he resided in his latter years, he left specimens of his art. The lower half of the 'Coronation of the Virgin,' for Monte Luce, which he is said to have executed after *Raphael*'s death, scarcely rises above mediocrity; the features are expressionless, the actions violent, and the colouring cold and opaque. A 'Charity' and a 'Hope,' two pretty but unmeaning pictures, have migrated from the Borghese Palace to England. *Penni* executed copies both of the 'Entombment' and 'Transfiguration' by *Raphael*; his copy of the latter is in the Sciarra-Colonna Palace, at Rome. He left one scholar in Naples, *Leonardo*, surnamed '*Il Pistoja*,' a Tuscan by birth.

Polidoro Caldara, called from his birthplace, a small

town in Lombardy, *Polidoro da Caravaggio* (b. 1495–d. 1543), was, like *Penni*, one of those foreign painters who exercised their art in Naples, and contributed to form the so-called Neapolitan school, which, as we have already observed, had no existence as an independent, self-developed school. He was originally a mason employed on the works of the Vatican, and his talent for painting was shown only at a late period of his life. It is said that he and one *Maturino*, a Florentine, of whom nothing else is known, embellished the exterior of several palaces in Rome with decorations in chiaroscuro,* chiefly friezes with subjects from ancient history and mythology, in which it is believed, the principal merit belongs to *Maturino*. The little that has been preserved of them, as well as the still existing copies and designs, display a decided tendency to the later Raphaelesque style. The study of the antique is here most happily united to picturesqueness of effect, while the mannerism which undermined the school of *Raphael* is still subdued by great freshness of power. In *Polidoro*'s few easel-pictures, also of this time—for instance, in 'Psyche received in Olympus,' in the Louvre—we still trace reminiscences of *Raphael*'s feeling. His later works executed in Naples and Messina show a totally different style. The mannered idealism of his Roman contemporaries is here replaced by a gaudy and somewhat unpleasant naturalism, which, though hitherto kept down by the noble examples around him, may be considered as the original tendency of this painter. At the same time, even in this representation of common nature, he evinces much power, life, and passion, being the first to suggest the style which afterwards became that of the Neapolitan painters. His principal work—'Christ bearing His Cross,' painted in Messina—is now, with a number of smaller pictures of sacred subjects, in the Public Gallery at Naples. It is a highly animated, and, despite the mean-

* See engravings, 'Opere di Polidoro da Caravaggio dis. ed int. da Gio. Bapt. Galestruzzi,' Rome, 1653. The frieze of the Casa Gaddi is engraved by *Santi Bartoli*. The technical process of this chiaroscuro is well known. The wall is painted with a dark colour, and a lighter one laid over it; and then the design scratched into it with a pointed instrument, so that the dark lower colour is seen through the lines.

ness of the forms, imposing composition, of gloomy brown colouring, like most of *Polidoro*'s later works. An 'Annunciation' by him in the Gallery at Gotha is pleasing in colour. *Polidoro* was murdered in 1543 by one *Tonno*, his assistant.

Pellegrino Tibaldi, or *Pellegrino Pellegrini*, born at Bologna, in 1527, may rather be classed among the followers of *Michael Angelo* than of *Giulio Romano*. He never ceased to aim at the manner of the former, after having studied in the Cappella Sistina at Rome. He went to Spain, and transplanted the Roman manner into that country. His works, which occur but rarely in Italy, are distinguished by an unaffected grace and the expression of earnest feeling—as in the 'Marriage of St. Catherine,' in the Gallery of Bologna. In the same style is a 'St. Cecilia' with two angels playing on musical instruments, half-figures, in the picture Gallery at Vienna. The frescoes by him of the Remigius Chapel in S. Luigi de' Francesi at Rome are more mannered.

We now return to *Raphael*'s own school, where we still find artists deserving attention, especially *Giovanni da Udine* who assisted *Raphael* in the arabesques of the Loggie, and in other decorative works. He was born in 1487, and received his first education in painting at Venice—probably in the school of *Giovanni Bellini*, and not from *Giorgione*, as stated by Vasari—before going to Rome. *Giovanni* was particularly distinguished in the representation of fruit, animals, birds, and still life of all kinds. The decorative paintings in the first arcade in the first story of the Loggie of the Vatican, and the pleasing frieze with children playing, formerly in an apartment of the Villa Madama at Rome, are among *Giovanni*'s more independent works. After the sacking of Rome, *Giovanni* was employed in many other parts of Italy, and finally returned to Udine, where he appears to have resided for the greater part of the rest of his life, decorating various buildings and holding the office of architect of all public edifices, and superintendent of public fountains in the city, with an annual stipend of forty ducats. His house, with stucco figures and ornaments, and a ceiling in the Archbishop's Palace, painted by him in the style of the Loggie, still exist there. In 1550 he was at Rome for

the Jubilee; but returned immediately afterwards to his native province, and was commissioned to execute works at Cividale. He again went to Rome in 1560 with the Duke Cosimo de' Medici, and died there in 1564.* The picture of Christ among the Doctors and the four Fathers of the Church, ascribed to him in the Venice Academy, is more probably by *Pietro Vecchia.*

Other scholars of *Raphael* were *Pellegrino da Modena*, of whom nothing certain is preserved; *Tommaso Vincidore* of Bologna (the *Thomas Polonius* of *Albert Dürer*'s Journal); and *Jacopone da Faenza*, an artist of no repute.

Vincenzo Tamagni, or *da San Gemignano* from his birthplace, who is mentioned by Vasari as a scholar of *Raphael*, and one of his assistants in decorating the Loggie—statements liable to much doubt—was born in 1492. He belongs properly to the Sienese school. His earliest works are frescoes in the church of S. Francesco at Montalcino, a small town near Siena, once signed and dated 1510, of which remains still exist, but without the signature. Other works by him in the same place have perished. At S. Gemignano there are two altar-pieces by him, signed and dated. He decorated with paintings in fresco, in company with *Lo Spagna*, the apsis of the church of S. Maria d' Arrone in Umbria, upon which the names of both painters are inscribed. According to Vasari he painted the façades of seven palaces in Rome, assisted by one *Schizzone.*†

Domenico Alfani, the companion of *Raphael* in *Perugino*'s school, subsequently adopted the style which the master had introduced into Rome, but after his death became an imitator of *Il Rosso* and *Andrea del Sarto.*‡ Some northern artists also formed themselves under *Raphael*, such as the Fleming *Michael Coxcie*, who endeavoured to imbibe the style of the great painter, and afterwards practised it in his native country. To conclude, we must not

* See Signor Milanesi's chronological view of the life and works of *Giovanni da Udine.* Sansoni's 'Vasari,' vol. vi. p. 567.

† See Milanesi's Commentary on Tamagni's life in Sansoni's 'Vasari,' vol. iv. p. 503.

‡ There is a good portrait by *Alfani* in the Borghese Gallery (Rome), which has been attributed to *Ridolfo Ghirlandajo.*

omit the influence which *Raphael* exercised on the art of engraving. In this department, *Marc' Antonio Raimondi*, of Bologna, is particularly noteworthy. He received his first instructions in the art of niello from *Francesco Francia*, and afterwards turned his attention to engraving, and began by copying his master's works. He then imitated *Mantegna*, afterwards *Albert Dürer*, and finally, going to Rome in 1510, perfected himself by drawing under *Raphael*, who distinguished him with his favour, and allowed him to engrave his designs. *Marc' Antonio* also engraved after *Michael Angelo, Giulio Romano*, &c., in like manner from their own designs. Two of his scholars assisted him in engraving from *Raphael—Agostino Veneziano* and *Marco Ravignano*. Thus this art may be said to have been brought to perfection by *Marc' Antonio* and his followers in the studio of *Raphael*. In all that regards drawing and precision of outline, the engravings of this time have never been surpassed by later productions, though lacking the delicacy of modeling, gradation of tones, and other picturesque effects which are now required. The importance of this school of engraving consisted chiefly in its having been so imbued with *Raphael*'s feeling that it was able to preserve his style even where, as in many cases, only a slight drawing served as a model, and the accessories were left to the engraver to complete. Thus in the hands of such artists even the works of other painters acquired a Raphaelesque stamp. The spread of *Raphael*'s fame, and the supremacy of his style, are owing therefore in no slight measure to these engravings.

CHAPTER XX.

THE LATER MASTERS OF SIENA.

WE have already described the decline of the Sienese school in the fifteenth century.* It required the influence of a master in whom every quality of art belonging to the time

* See Chap. 6.

should be united to raise it to the standard of the sixteenth century. Such a master appeared in the person of *Gianantonio Bazzi* *—known as *il Sodoma*—a painter of undoubted power and originality, and one of the most attractive of his time. He was the son of a shoemaker, and was born at Vercelli in 1477. He was placed by his father with a local painter named *Martino Spanzotti* from Casale, who had established himself at Vercelli. On his father's death in 1497 he moved, being twenty years of age, to Milan, where he became a pupil or follower of *Leonardo da Vinci*. Four years afterwards he was induced by agents of the Spannocchi, a firm of wealthy bankers at Siena, to migrate to that city, where he settled and became one of its citizens. His earliest known work is a panel-picture, representing the 'Descent from the Cross,' now in the public gallery there, probably painted in 1502. In the following year he executed a fresco of the 'Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes,' still preserved in the refectory of the convent of S. Anna at Pienza, a small town not far from Siena. But the best known works of his early period are the fine series of twenty-six frescoes commenced in 1505, representing the history of St. Benedict in the Convent of Mont' Oliveto, near the small town of Buonconvento on the high road between Siena and Rome, where *Luca Signorelli* had already laboured. In these interesting wall-paintings he appears severe in style, and evidently aiming at individuality of character. It was probably in the year 1507 that he was taken by Agostino Chigi, the great Sienese merchant, to Rome, where he was soon afterwards employed in decorating the ceiling of the Camera della Segnatura in the Vatican, the walls of which were subsequently painted by *Raphael*, who was so pleased with *Bazzi*'s work that he not only left the greater part of it, but introduced the painter's portrait by the side of his own in his magnificent fresco of the school of Athens.† In 1514 *Bazzi* was employed by the same Antonio Chigi in painting

* His name is frequently, but incorrectly, written *Razzi*.

† The figure in the white cap and gown representing *Bazzi* is generally, but erroneously, assumed to be *Perugino*, who was then a much older man. See ante, p. 490.

the beautiful frescoes in the upper story of the Farnesina Palace. They represent the young Alexander breaking in Bucephalus, which has been utterly disfigured by a barbarous restoration; the 'Marriage of Alexander and Roxana,' in which he has introduced some female figures, uniting the greatest dignity with the most exquisite grace;* and the Family of Darius before the Conqueror. He is supposed to have returned to Lombardy in 1518, and to have remained there for two years. The pictures he painted during this period have a Leonardesque character, and some of them have even been attributed to *Leonardo* himself. Such are the altar-piece, with the Virgin and Child and Angels and Saints, in the public gallery at Pisa, in which the heads seem to show the influence of *Luini;* and the small Madonna with Saints in the National Gallery, in which a similar influence is evident. Returning to Siena he was employed there in various works, executing in 1526 his masterpiece—the frescoes in the chapel of St. Catherine of Siena in the church of S. Domenico. On one side of the altar is seen St. Catherine in ecstasy, before the apparition of the First Person of the Trinity, with the Madonna and the Infant Christ, accompanied by angels of exquisite beauty; on the other the saint is represented fainting, supported by nuns, while Christ appears above. This is a work of the highest charm of beauty and expression, which cannot fail to make a deep impression upon the spectator.† A third work on a side wall is not remarkable as a composition, but excellent in the single figures.

Bazzi executed another work of great merit in conjunction with *Del Pacchia* and another Sienese, *Beccafumi*, in the oratory of the brotherhood of S. Bernardino. Here the history of the Virgin is represented with figures larger than life in several pictures, divided by light pilasters. The greater part is by *Bazzi;* but his spirit pervades the whole,

* The original sketch of this composition by *Bazzi* is in the Albertina at Vienna, there attributed to *Raphael*. In the Uffizi also there is a pen and ink sketch for the marriage of Alexander by *Bazzi*, ascribed to the school of *Raphael;* and drawings by *Bazzi* are elsewhere attributed to *Leonardo*, *Raphael* and others.—See Morelli, 'Ital. Masters,' p. 429.

† This fine fresco and others by the master have been reproduced in chromo-lithography by the Arundel Society.

and even raises the works of his fellow-labourers to his own standard. The most remarkable subjects, especially for the heads, are the 'Visitation' and the 'Assumption.' There are also frescoes by him in the Sala del Consiglio in the Palazzo Pubblico, and altar-pieces in the churches of Siena. A 'Deposition from the Cross,' of the year 1513, in S. Francesco, with some Leonardesque heads (a very grand work); some frescoes in S. Spirito; an 'Adoration of the Kings' in S. Agostino; and a Madonna and Child, with the Baptist and two Angels, in the Chigi Palace, are all noteworthy. His works are not frequently met with in collections, and for this reason he is far less known than he deserves to be. In Florence he is well represented by a 'St. Sebastian,' in the Uffizi—a figure of the noblest proportions, though severe in colouring. In this last respect it is an exception to his general style, for a soft and warm tone is one of his characteristic beauties. The expression of grief in the countenance is of touching beauty. An 'Ascension' in the Public Gallery at Naples is distinguished by the beautiful forms of the angels, and by a highly animated expression. A single figure of Lucretia, painted for Agostino Chigi, not unworthy even of *Raphael*, formerly in the collection of Herr von Kestner, is now in the Public Gallery at Hanover. A fresco transferred to canvas—'Christ bound to the column'—in the Siena Academy is a fine example of his power as a colourist, and of giving expression to his figures. An excellent 'Sacrifice of Abraham,' with a grand landscape background, but much restored, is in the choir of the cathedral at Pisa. A fine picture of the Madonna with the Child and Joseph—the Madonna seen to just below the knees—and a 'Leda,' (ascribed to *Leonardo*) are in the Borghese Palace at Rome. Finally, the cathedral of Asina Lunga possesses a grand specimen of the master—the Madonna and Child enthroned, the Child standing on the same pedestal with his Mother, the infant Baptist kneeling below; on the right SS. Sebastian and Anthony, on the left SS. Louis and Roch.

Bazzi is also admirable in his portraits, many of which in collections pass under the names of the greatest masters; for instance, the very striking portrait of a noble lady

in the Städel Institute at Frankfort, there ascribed to *Sebastian del Piombo.**

Bazzi died in 1549. The account that Vasari gives of his profligate and eccentric character and disordered life is greatly exaggerated, and is probably more of a romance than consistent with truth. He was one of those painters to whom the Aretine biographer showed an unaccountable animosity, and he has not been sufficiently appreciated. In his heads, and particularly in those of women, he almost rivals *Leonardo*. They unite grace, tenderness, and sweetness, with an earnestness and fervour not to be found, perhaps, in any other master. Had the sentiment of beauty been more fixed in his mind, and his drawing and grouping more correct, he would have been one of the first artists of any time. In his earlier works his colouring is clear and transparent, and even 'Correggiesque;' later, it becomes darker, and sometimes even heavy in the shadows. In the rendering of draperies, especially in his purples and crimsons when representing velvets and other costly stuffs, it is very rich and powerful. In the treatment of landscape he is imaginative and picturesque. A distinguished German critic writes of him, "Sodoma had a poetic soul, full of glowing and deep feeling, a richly endowed creative mind, but no inclination for severe earnest work. Never did man more freely indulge his whims; never did artist live more unconcernedly under the influence of his genius. He cared little for others, and others still less for him. Sodoma, therefore, never worked as he might have worked, and was esteemed less than he was worth."†

Bazzi founded a school at Siena, and had many scholars, such as *Matteo Balducci*, *Giacomo Magagni*, known as *Giomo del Sodoma*, *Lorenzo*, called *il Rustico*, *Bartolommeo Neroni*, or *il Riccio*,‡ and *Giovanni Maria Tucci*, whose works may

* A very fine portrait of a young man by him, in black chalk, in the Albertina, was at one time ascribed to *Raphael*.—Morelli, p. 429.

† Herr Albert Jansen, 'Life and works of the painter, G. A. Bazzi, 1870. However, as we have seen, he was appreciated by *Raphael*. See Milanesi's Commentary on his life in Sansoni's 'Vasari,' vol. vi., and Morelli's 'Italian Masters in German Galleries,' p. 428, &c.

‡ By this *Maestro Riccio* there are two large pictures in the French

be seen in that city and the neighbourhood. But they were painters of little merit, and it is only necessary to record their names.

Domenico Beccafumi, surnamed *Mecarino* and *Mecuccio*, (b. 1486–d. 1551) was rather an imitator than a scholar of *Bazzi*, and is of sufficient importance as a painter to deserve a short notice. He has already been mentioned as having been employed with *Bazzi* in the oratory of S. Bernardino. In his works there he approaches the noble and simple grace of that master. In the Sienese Academy there is a remarkable altar-piece by him. A circular picture in the Torrigiani Palace (Florence) is also a good and characteristic specimen of his style. In his later works he became more mechanical, only retaining the beautiful external forms he had learned in Florence; but as his colours are always clear and lasting, his pictures produce, at least, an agreeable effect on the eye. One of the most interesting of his later works is the pavement of the choir of the Duomo at Siena, which is formed of a mosaic of light and dark marbles, with lines of shading in the style of niello. Earlier works of this kind, which are peculiar to this cathedral, are merely drawn, in a manner resembling niello. *Beccafumi* painted at Rome and at Genoa.*

This series of the Sienese artists closes with *Baldassare Peruzzi* (b. 1481–d. 1536), one of the best modern architects, and who, as such, fills an important place in the history of architecture; he also deserves honourable mention as a painter. He was first an imitator of *Pinturicchio*, afterwards of *Bazzi*, and finally of *Raphael*. His progress is thus similar in development to that of his Sienese contemporaries: for example, there are two little pictures by him in the Madrid Gallery quite in the manner of *Pinturicchio*, and paintings

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Academy, which show the influence of the Florentine manner, and remind us but little of his first instructor. *Michael Anselmi*, surnamed *Michaelangelo da Siena*, although sometimes included among *Bazzi*'s scholars, was really an imitator of *Correggio*.

* He also painted the ceiling of the Sala del Consistoro in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. This work is greatly praised by Vasari; especially a figure of Justice, which he declares to be wonderful for its drawing and colour.

by him on the ceiling of the saloon of the Farnesina (in which *Raphael* painted his 'Galatea'), which rather lean to the early style of the fifteenth century, but contain graceful and interesting details. The frescoes which he executed in the tribune in S. Onofrio (Rome), below the works of *Pinturicchio* in the semi-dome, under that painter's influence and probably from his designs, are more important. They represent the Madonna, enthroned, with saints—on one side the Adoration of the Kings, on the other the Flight into Egypt—and contain very graceful heads. At a later period *Peruzzi* adopted the Roman style, but sacrificed, in his efforts after external beauty of form, the artless grace which distinguished his early productions. His principal work at this time is a fresco in the little church of the Madonna di Fontegiusta at Siena—the Sibyl announcing the Nativity to Augustus. The figure of the Sibyl is not without grandeur, but the effect of the whole is cold. An altar-piece in S. Maria della Pace at Rome (in the first chapel on the left), and a 'Presentation of the Virgin,' in the same church, in which the architectural portions are the chief features in the picture (see woodcut), are of inferior value. An 'Adoration of the Kings,' in Bridgewater House, is of indifferent merit in the heads, and, as in *Peruzzi*'s later manner, fantastic in the costumes. Another picture of this subject, by him, as well as a corresponding drawing in chiaroscuro, is in the National Gallery.* *Peruzzi* was also distinguished in architectural decorative painting, in which the influence of *Raphael* is very perceptible. The Farnesina (in Rome), which was built by him, contained beautiful examples of this style, but the decorations of an apartment in the second story are all that remain. The beautiful ornaments of the exterior have also disappeared; and this building, once so much admired, now makes but a poor appearance. He also executed part of the decoration in the Stanza of Heliodorus in the Vatican. *Peruzzi*'s best works are imbued with a feeling for the antique. He was also a mathematician, and a master of perspective.

* The picture may be a copy by *Girolamo da Treviso* from *Peruzzi*'s drawing.

CHAPTER XXI.

LATER SCHOOL OF VENICE.

WE now approach the last prominent group of great painters, who, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, carried on and further expanded the glories of Venetian art. They, like *Correggio*, were remarkable for technical pre-eminence. The Roman school was distinguished by beauty of form; *Correggio*, by chiaroscuro; the Venetians of this period, like their predecessors who have already occupied our attention, were great in colour. It is this quality which constitutes the charm of their productions. They give the warmth of life to the colour of flesh, imitate the splendour and brilliancy of different materials, and, if we may venture so to say, relieve light on light.* At the same time, while the delineation of life—life in its fullest beauty and health, colour in its deepest glow, and atmosphere in its purest brilliancy—was the chief aim of the school, they infused a tranquil dignity into the commonest as well as the most elevated subjects.

Two great names stand at the head of this school—*Giorgione* and *Titian*—both scholars of *Giovanni Bellini*.

Giorgio Barbarelli, or *Barbarella*, commonly called *Gior-*

* The expression used above is no hyperbole: it describes, in point of fact, the mode of laying on the colours peculiar to the masters of the Venetian school, which was the result of a close observation of the effect of colour and light upon the eye itself. "Every part of a healthy human form, on which the light of the sun directly falls, is of that glowing reddish yellowish colour which most delights the eye, and which it most eagerly seeks in a picture. Thus it is that the portions thus lighted, and thus coloured, are also the most conspicuous. Other parts which, lying obliquely, do not receive the rays of the sun upon them, are lighted by the reflection from other objects at a greater or less distance from them, or by the light with which the atmosphere itself is pervaded. These reflections cast upon the object on which they fall something of the colour of the objects from which they are derived. Being therefore of a bluish tint when derived merely from the open air, they impart this same bluish tint to the object they light; and when this happens to be the tender surface of the human body, itself of a reddish yellow colour, a light greyish green tint results. This colour, being duller, is less conspicuous to the eye, and the portions thus lighted recede apparently from sight, and take the effect of half-shadows, though really almost as light as the lightest parts." (See Von Quandt's translation of Lanzi's 'History of Painting in Italy,' vol. ii. p. 146.)

gione (big George), and by the Venetians *Zorzo da Castelfranco*, was the natural son, by a peasant girl of Vedelago, of one *Jacopo Barbarella*, who was descended from a Venetian family which had settled about the beginning of the fifteenth century in the town of Castelfranco, in the March of Treviso, a province fertile in eminent painters.* He was born there in 1477 or 1478.† No painter's reputation stood higher in his own time, or has remained more steadily at the same elevation to the present day; yet, of the numerous works which have borne his name, many have perished, many are missing, and of those that remain but few can be indisputably assigned to him. His greatness—not resting on delicate spiritual expression, or exquisite grace of outline—was of a character readily caught by his contemporary compeers and inferiors, and thus the discrimination of his works from those of his time, and through all the injuries of neglect and restoration—injuries most damaging to his peculiar qualities—is a task of delicate and mature connoisseurship: for history is sparing in records of this painter, and the traditions which have taken their place are overladen with fable. Excellence, therefore, in the qualities characteristic of this master becomes the standard by which a Giorgionesque work can alone be judged. Certain pictures of fine treatment and colour, hitherto generally attributed to *Giorgione*—for instance, the 'Lady with the Lute,' at Alnwick Castle, formerly in the Manfrin Gallery, and the 'Adam and Eve,' in the Brunswick Gallery—are now adjudged to *Palma;* others to *Pordenone* and *Romanino*, and even to *Callisto Piazza.* Less refined works, of a certain depth and breadth of colour, which have borne *Giorgione*'s name in galleries, are now rightly given to his comparatively modern imitator, *Pietro della Vecchia.* Such was the value attached to his pictures that no Gallery, public or private, could at one time be considered complete without one. This desire to possess them

* *Giorgione, Lotto, Paris Bordone, Catena, Bissolo, Cima, Penacchi,* and other distinguished painters were born in the March of Treviso.

† In Sansoni's 'Vasari' and in the Louvre Catalogue his birth is placed in 1478, in the National Gallery Catalogue in 1477.

led to numerous counterfeits, and to works by other and very inferior painters being attributed to him.

It is not known when *Giorgione* entered the Venetian school. At all events he found it in possession of the art of oil painting, first brought there by *Antonello da Messina*, and taken up by *Alvise Vivarini* and the *Bellini*. This art he developed to its utmost extent by means of scumblings and glazings and other intricate processes by which a richness and depth, before unknown, were given to the surface.* It is evident too that he followed in *Giovanni Bellini*'s steps in the love of landscape, which, in *Giorgione*'s hands, assumes the highest poetry of which it is capable. Undoubted creations of his brush and distinctive types of his art are two small pictures in the Uffizi—the 'Choice of Moses,' or the 'Ordeal by fire' (an apocryphal subject) and the 'Judgment of Solomon.' They are supposed to be youthful works, originally in possession of the Medici in their summer residence of Poggio Imperiale, but already showing his luscious, deep tones, the aristocratic bearing of his figures, the sparkle of his touch, and radiance of his landscape and sky.

Foremost among the works always acknowledged to be by his hand is the altar-piece of the 'Madonna and Child,' between SS. Francesco and Liberale, in the church of Castelfranco, his birthplace, believed to have been executed before 1504.† A deep-toned sketch of the S. Liberale, but here bareheaded, was bequeathed to the National Gallery by Mr. Rogers.‡

* The difference in the technical execution of *Giorgione* and *Titian* appears to have been that the former painted in tempera and then glazed in oil, and the latter only used oil-colours. The consequence is that *Giorgione*'s colours have retained their brilliancy and transparency, whilst those of *Titian* have too frequently become opaque and black. This is shown in the reclining Venus in the Dresden Gallery (to be described hereafter) by *Giorgione*, finished by *Titian*, from which the part added by the latter was removed on account of this change of colour.

† This noble work has been greatly injured, and its original rich transparent colour dulled, by injudicious restorations of modern date. It has been published in chromo-lithography by the Arundel Society.

‡ The authenticity of this highly finished study has been called in question, but scarcely, it appears to us, on sufficient grounds. See Frizzoni, 'L'Arte Italiana nella Galleria Nazionale di Londra,' p. 58; and Richter's 'Italian Art in the National Gallery,' p. 86.

Picture by Giorgione, Giovanelli collection. Venice

The treatment of *genre* subjects, combined with rich and poetical landscape, may be said to have originated with *Giorgione*. Of this class are the Chaldean Sages (at Vienna), called by an anonymous writer of the first half of the sixteenth century the 'Three Philosophers,' and stated by him to have been finished by *Sebastiano Veneziano* (*Sebastian del Piombo*)—from the dispersed collection of Charles I.; and the so-called 'Family of *Giorgione*'—an almost nude woman, probably a gipsy, seated with a child in her lap, and a standing warrior gazing upon her, a storm breaking over the landscape; a picture of idyllic beauty, formerly in the Manfrin Gallery, and now in the possession of Prince Giovanelli, at Venice (see illustration).* The charm of these two pictures cannot be described. It is as if *Giovanni Bellini* were here seen with every delicious quality full grown.

The anonymous writer above referred to describes, among the pictures in the house of one Jeronimo Marcello, at Venice, a naked Venus asleep in a [illegible] with a Cupid, by *Giorgione*. He adds that the Cupid and the landscape were finished by *Titian*. This Venus is again mentioned by Ridolfi, in his work on the Venetian Painters, first published in 1646, as being still in the possession of the Marcello family. From that time this picture had disappeared, until Signor Morelli recognised it in the single figure of the sleeping Venus, then hung almost out of sight as a work of no importance, in the Dresden Gallery, and described in the catalogue as a copy, probably by *Sassoferrato*, from an original by *Titian*. Signor Morelli's identification was at first disputed on account of the absence of the Cupid. It appears, however, from the records of the Gallery that when the picture first came to Dresden under the name of *Titian*, there was a Cupid seated at the feet of Venus; but so much injured that what remained of the figure was removed, and the place it

* Both these pictures are mentioned and described by the anonymous writer mentioned in the text. See 'Notizia d'Opere di disegno publicata e illustrata da D Jacopo Morelli ed. Gustavo Frizzoni': Bologna, 1884, pp. 165 and 218.

† Ridolfi, 'Meraviglie dell'Arte.' He calls her 'Una deliziosa Venere ignuda dormiente."

occupied painted over by a restorer named Schirmer.* The authorities of the Gallery have now recognised the importance of this priceless work, and have assigned to it the prominent place it deserves as one of the most precious pictures in this unrivalled collection, ascribing it, as suggested by Signor Morelli, to *Giorgione*. No artist of any time has exceeded the exquisite beauty of outline and nobility of conception in this lovely figure, which, notwithstanding many and injudicious restorations, still preserves much of its original brilliancy and transparency of colour. From it *Titian*, *Palma Vecchio*, and other masters of the school took their well-known reclining Venus and other nude women. But no one who impartially contemplates *Giorgione*'s work will hesitate to acknowledge the superiority of the original in the highest qualities of art to the copies and imitations—the one of the utmost purity and refinement, the others realistic and sensual. The white drapery, disposed in [illegible] folds, and the distant landscape, w[illegible] repainted, are thoroughly characteristic of the master, and at once indicate the author of the work (see illustration).†

Another picture identified by Signor Morelli as a genuine work by *Giorgione* is the beautiful Virgin and Child between SS. Rock and Antony, in the Madrid Gallery, formerly attributed to *Pordenone*, which, in excellent preservation, has all the richness and transparency of colour and the refined sentiment of the master.

It may not be out of place here to quote Signor Morelli's opinion with regard to *Giorgione*. No critic or connoisseur has studied this great master's works with more intelligence and care, and is better qualified to pronounce a judgment upon them. "It was only in the last six years of his short life, from about 1505 to 1511, that *Giorgione* developed his full, his total power. His few works that have come down to us (all his wall-paintings have been consumed by the sea-air) show such an original and highly poetical mind,

* We have already mentioned in a previous note (p. 552) that Titian's colours had blackened.

† Morelli, 'Italian Masters,' &c., p. 164 et seq.

his simple, unprejudiced, and fine artist-nature speaks out of them so freshly, so winningly, that whoever has once understood him can and will never forget him. No other artist knows like him how to captivate our mind and chain our imagination for hours with such small means, and yet we often do not know what those figures of his really stand for. Vasari already remarked that it was difficult to give *Giorgione*'s representations an explanatory name. *Giorgione* was of a genuine, harmless, cheerful nature, a lyric poet in contrast with *Titian*, who was wholly dramatic. The latter is, no doubt, a more powerful and energetic mind, whilst *Giorgione* is, to my thinking, an artist of much finer grain. In his landscape backgrounds, in the charm of his outlines and colouring, few have equalled and none surpassed *Giorgione*, excepting, perhaps, *Titian*. His love was given to music, beautiful women, and, above all, to his noble art. No one was so independent as he; to the great and powerful of this world he remained indifferent; to none of them did he sacrifice, as, for instance, *Titian* did, his freedom, and, still less, his dignity. So Vasari paints him to us, and I believe the likeness is true to life." *

The existing works of *Giorgione* are extremely rare. Signor Morelli only admits the undoubted genuineness of the following.

1. The two pictures in the Uffizi already mentioned, probably painted between his sixteenth and eighteenth year.

2. 'Christ bearing the Cross,' in the possession of Countess Loschi at Vicenza—a much restored picture, recalling his master *Giovanni Bellini*.

3. The altar-piece at Castelfranco.

4. The small picture known as '*Giorgione*'s Family,' belonging to Prince Giovanelli, at Venice.

5. The Madonna with SS. Roch and Anthony, in the Madrid Gallery.

6. The 'Knight of Malta,' in the Uffizi, much repainted.

7. A cassone picture, with the legend of Daphne and Apollo, with a beautiful and characteristic landscape back-

* 'Italian Masters,' &c., p. 158.

ground, in the Manfredini collection, in the Seminario, Venice; disfigured by repaints and restorations.

8. The so-called 'Three Stages of Life,' in the Pitti, there ascribed to *Lorenzo Lotto*, thoroughly Giorgionesque in character, but much injured by repainting.

9. The 'Concert,' in the Louvre, which has also greatly suffered from repainting, but in which the introduction of nude female figures contrasted with the rich dresses of the two musicians, gives a measure of *Giorgione*'s powers. Nothing can be finer than the landscape.

10. The fragment of a picture in the Esterhazy Gallery at Pesth, representing two young men in Venetian costume of the fifteenth century, standing on a hill, with a house in the background, and in the distance the sea with the first rays of the sun shining on it—probably one of his early works.

11. The 'Three Philosophers,' in the Vienna Gallery.

12. The 'Sleeping Venus,' at Dresden.

The following pictures, according to the same authority, must be doubtfully ascribed to the master, or pass wrongly under his name*—

The 'Judgment of Solomon,' a large, unfinished, and much injured picture belonging to Mr. Banks, of Kingston Lacy, which has always passed as a work of the master, and is in many respects very characteristic of him, especially in the combination of cool but luminous architecture, with deeply coloured figures.†

The standing Knight in Armour, in the National Gallery, believed to be the original study for the S. Liberale in the Castelfranco altar-piece which has already been mentioned. Its authenticity appears to be questioned on the ground that it is too carefully finished for a sketch or study, and is more likely to be a copy, with some variations, from the original.

The so-called 'Concert,' in the Pitti (Florence), there ascribed to *Giorgione*, but more probably an early picture by

* A beautiful allegorical figure of 'Temperance,' in the collection of the Royal Academy, at Burlington House, although almost covered with repaint, has all the appearance, according to Signor Frizzoni, of a genuine picture by *Giorgione*. 'L'Arte Italiana nella Galleria Nazionale di Londra,' p. 58; but this is doubted by Signor Morelli.

† This picture may possibly be by *Campagnola*.

Titian, once a very beautiful work, the original character of which, especially in two of the heads, has been entirely destroyed by overcleaning and repaint. The musician playing on the spinet is still of the finest sentiment.

The 'Nativity,' formerly in the Fesch Gallery, and now in the possession of Mr. Wentworth Beaumont (London)—a picture of such harmony and charm of treatment and of so many fine qualities that it has been attributed to *Giorgione*.

The 'Satyr pursuing a Nymph,' in the Pitti, ascribed to *Giorgione*, is very *Giorgionesque* in character, but cannot with certainty be assigned to him.

The so-called 'Astrologer,' formerly in the Manfrin collection (Venice), and now in the Dresden Gallery, has no claim to be by *Giorgione*'s hand; but it may be a copy by a contemporary painter from one of his pictures.

The 'Meeting of Jacob and Rachel,' in the same gallery, also attributed to *Giorgione*, is by *Palma Vecchio* in his third or blond manner.

The well-known picture in the Venice Academy, representing the three Saints, Mark, Nicholas, and George, exorcising the demons who are raising the storm, may have been wholly or in part by *Giorgione;* but it was probably entirely repainted by *Paris Bordone*, and has, moreover, been subjected to so many restorations and repaints that very little of the original is preserved.

It would take up too much space to enumerate the many other pictures which, in various collections, pass under the name of *Giorgione*. Some may be early copies of his works; but for the most part they are by painters who may have endeavoured, more or less successfully, to imitate his style.*

Much of *Giorgione*'s short life was devoted to decorating the exteriors of palaces at Venice with frescoes of so perishable a nature that Vasari, visiting the city in 1544, laments their premature decay. Such fragments as were still visible in 1760 were engraved by Zanetti.†

* Among them may be mentioned two small and interesting pictures recently acquired for the National Gallery—an 'Adoration of the Magi' (No. 1160) and an unknown subject (No. 1173).

† *Giorgione* and *Titian* together painted in fresco the exterior of the

Giorgione died in 1511, of the plague, at the early age of thirty-four years, "to the no little injury of the art of painting,*" and was buried in the church of S. Liberale at Castelfranco. The precocity of his genius, his highly poetic imagination, and the influence he exercised upon art, entitle him to rank among the greatest painters the world has seen—*Leonardo da Vinci*, *Michael Angelo*, *Raphael*, and *Titian*.†

Of *Giorgione*'s scholars the most important was *Sebastiano Luciani*, called from the office he held at the Pontifical Court *Fra Sebastian del Piombo*. He was born in 1485, and was first instructed in painting in the studio of *Giovanni Bellini*. In an inscription on his earliest known picture (in the possession of the Editor), probably executed when he was a mere boy, he calls himself a pupil of that master.‡ It represents a 'Pietà'—the Dead Christ supported by the Virgin, and surrounded by various Saints —with a town and stream in the background, altogether in the manner of *Cima da Conegliano*, who was probably at that time the director of *Giovanni Bellini*'s atelier. The picture is, in fact, almost a copy of one by *Cima*, now in Russia, and may have been taken from the same cartoon. But the tone is warmer and more forcible than that of this master, and shows, as it were, a dawning originality.

'Fondaco dei Tedeschi.' Of their joint work nothing now remains but a single figure; to which of the two it is to be attributed is doubtful.

* Dolce, 'Dialogo,' p. 60.

† No painter probably exercised greater influence upon the artists of his time. Signor Morelli ('It. Masters,' p. 42) points out that it is seen in the works of nearly all his Venetian contemporaries; not only in those of *Titian* and *Sebastian del Piombo*, but of *Boccaccino*, *Lotto*, *Palma Vecchio*, *Pordenone*, *Bonifazio Veronese*, *Cariani*, *Dosso Dossi*, *Romanino*, and many others.

‡ This inscription is "Bastian Luciani fuit descipulus Johannes Bellinus." Its genuineness is questioned, but without reason, by Crowe and Cavalcaselle ('History of Painting in North Italy,' vol. ii. p. 311, note). The picture was originally in the Manfrin Gallery, with a forged 'Cartellino,' with the name of *Cima da Conegliano*, which, when removed by Molteni, the well-known restorer of Milan, showed the original 'Cartellino' beneath. The barbarous Latin of the inscription suggests that it was the work of a boy. A picture somewhat similar in style, in the church of S. Niccolò at Treviso, representing the Incredulity of S. Thomas, is attributed to *Sebastiano*.

Altarpiece by Sebastian del Piombo at Venice

Attracted by the brilliant colouring of *Giorgione*, *Sebastiano* placed himself under him, leaving the school of *Bellini*.* His early works, painted at Venice before he quitted that city for Rome and came under the influence of *Michael Angelo*, are altogether *Giorgionesque* in character. A fine example is furnished by his altar-piece in the church of S. Giovanni Crisostomo at Venice. This picture gives us some idea of the personal influence of *Michael Angelo*, which could subsequently impel a Venetian painter of such excellence to adopt a line of art so totally opposed to his original tendency. It represents the mild and dignified St. Chrysostom seated, reading at a desk in an open portico; St. John the Baptist, leaning on his cross, is gazing affectionately and attentively at him; behind are two male saints, and on the left two female saints, listening devoutly; in front is the Magdalen, accompanied by two other female Saints, looking grandly out of the picture at the spectator—splendid types of the Venetian ideal of female beauty at that time. The true expression of a 'Santa Conversazione' cannot be more worthily given than in the relation in which the hearers stand to the principal figure (see illustration). In glow of colour this picture was originally probably not inferior to the best of *Giorgione*'s. Unfortunately it has been dulled and injured by overcleaning and by restorations. Other works of the same period of the master are two noble, though much damaged, full-length figures of SS. Bartholomew and Sebastian in the church dedicated to the former Saint at Venice, in which he recalls his master in the colouring and in the treatment of the draperies; the 'Venus and Adonis' in the Uffizi; and a female portrait in the Pitti.

Sebastiano having received offers of employment at Rome, from the before-mentioned Agostino Chigi, reputed the richest private gentleman in Italy, and then engaged in building the Farnesina Palace, he is believed to have removed to that city in 1511 or '12 after the early death of *Giorgione*. He was immediately engaged on a ceil-

* Vasari terms *Giorgione*'s colouring a "certo fiammegiare di colori," and describes how *Sebastian Luciani* left *Giovanni Bellini*, and attached himself to *Giorgione*.

ing of the new building, where, in the same room with *Raphael*'s Galatea, he filled nine lunettes with mythological subjects. In Rome he frequented the society both of *Michael Angelo* and *Raphael;* and though Vasari's story that the great *Buonarroti* courted *Sebastiano*'s friendship and aided him with his own designs, in order by a combination of Venetian colour and grand drawing to raise up one who should eclipse *Raphael*, is as improbable as it is base, yet there seems no doubt that, while on the closest terms of intimacy with *Michael Angelo*, *Sebastiano* was inimical to *Raphael*. Nevertheless the portraits by *Sebastiano* produced in his early Roman time are supposed to bear witness to the influence of *Raphael*, and many of them have persistently borne the name of the great master, although they are thoroughly Venetian in character. It is now no secret among connoisseurs, as it has already been stated, that the so-called 'Fornarina' in the tribune of the Uffizi, and a portrait named the 'Dorothea,' as well as the 'Fornarina,' formerly at Blenheim and now at Berlin—both supplemented with the title of *Raphael*'s Mistress—are by the hand of *Sebastiano*,* as well as the magnificent work executed much later—the portrait of Cardinal Pole, in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. On the other hand, the beautiful female portrait in the Pitti (No. 222), attributed to *Giorgione*, is, there is every reason to believe, an early work by *Sebastiano* in his Venetian manner. Our painter was indeed especially eminent in portraits, showing a power of grasping character with a grand individuality which gives a key to his own nature. Of this class are the two portraits of Clement VII.—one in the Museum of Naples, miscalled Alexander VI.—

* Both these pictures have been much repainted. In that in the Uffizi only the drapery affords a real test of the master. Dr. Richter says of these works: "In the same year (1512) he painted the portrait of an unknown lady, a well-known picture in the Tribuna of the Uffizi, erroneously ascribed to *Raphael*, and supposed to represent the Fornarina. The 'Fornarina' of the Blenheim Gallery, ascribed to *Sebastiano*, is an altogether different and inferior work, painted in imitation of *Sebastiano*'s style. It is worthy of note that the wall-paintings at the Farnesina are Giorgionesque in style, whereas the so-called 'Fornarina' at Florence displays the eclectic principles of style, which constitute the artist's second manner, of which Vasari speaks more favourably than art critics at the present day can feel justified in doing."—Notes on Vasari's Lives, p. 255.

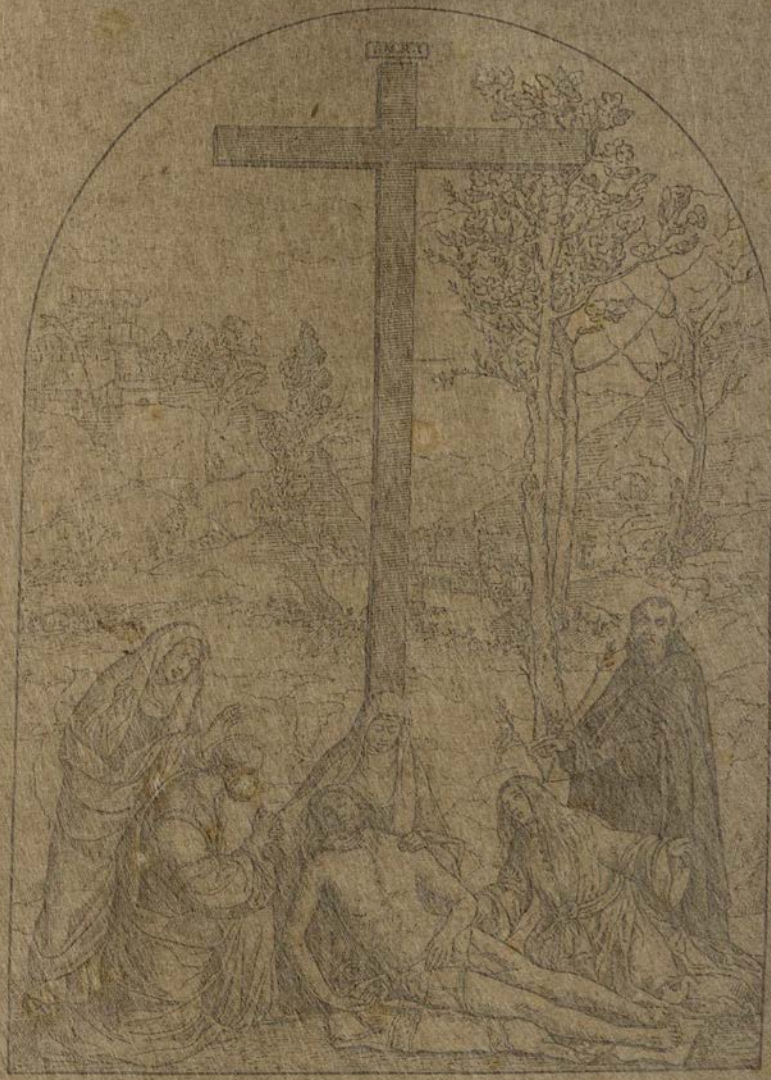
colossal in size, and magnificent in treatment, "the realization," in Sir C. L. Eastlake's words, "of what is usually attributed to *Michael Angelo*;" the other in the collection of the late Lord Taunton—equally misnamed Amerigo Vespucci; and a third in the Pitti, on slate—a bearded individual of fine countenance, with black cap and red sleeves. No higher specimen can be seen of the union of grand conception, drawing, and powers of hand, than in his portrait of Andrea Doria, in the Doria Palace, Rome. The portraits so-called of Vittoria Colonna and her husband on one canvas, in the Palazzo S. Angelo at Naples, are of good colour, but deficient in grandeur of conception. That of a lady, believed to be Giulia Gonzaga, in the character of St. Agatha, is in the National Gallery. In the same collection are the portraits, on one canvas, of the painter (his only authentic one) and of the 'Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici'—a grand and imposing work.

That *Sebastiano* worked in conjunction with *Michael Angelo*, or in other words was assisted by his designs, whatever the motive for the partnership, is proved equally by historical records and by the evidence of his works. Of this fact the grand picture of the 'Raising of Lazarus,' executed for the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (afterwards Clement VII.) in 1517–1519, and now in the National Gallery, in which he appears to have abandoned his Giorgionesque colouring, is the foremost example.* This is in many respects one of the noblest pictures existing. The grand conformation of the Lazarus; the gesture and expression of the Saviour; the ineffable beauty of the Magdalen's head and hands; the varieties of expression in the numerous figures around; and the gorgeousness of a landscape conceived in the finest Venetian spirit, present a dramatic combination and pictorial completeness which few would now hesitate to prefer to the 'Transfiguration' by *Raphael*, produced simultaneously

* Drawings by *Michael Angelo* of Lazarus, and of the group around him, and of other figures in this picture, are at Oxford and in the British Museum. According to Waagen, 'Kunst und Künstler in England,' vol. i. p. 185, *Michael Angelo* designed the whole composition; but it is uncertain whether he did more than make sketches for some of the principal groups and figures. Richter, 'Notes on Vasari's Lives' p. 236.

for the same patron.* In this mixture of the Venetian element with the severer forms and masses of the Michael-angelesque feeling consists the charm of *Sebastiano*'s best works. We see this combination strongly exemplified in Lord Northbrook's Holy Family with the donor; in a portrait belonging to Lord Lansdowne; in the magnificent Petersburg 'Pietà'; and in a 'Pietà' with the 'Dead Christ and Madonna' alone, in the church of S. Francesco at Viterbo. As instances of the absence of this combination, or rather of the predominance of his adopted school, may be named the 'Martyrdom of St. Agatha,' in the Pitti—a work of marvellous power; the 'Visitation,' in the Louvre; the fragments from the wall-painting, in the church of the Pace (Rome)—removed to make room for *Bernini*'s Chigi monument, and now in Alnwick Castle; and the two pictures—'Christ bearing His Cross,' and 'His Descent into Limbo'—in the Madrid Gallery. A small altar-piece of grand character—the Madonna and Child, with St. Joseph and two Angels—is in a side chapel on the right, in the Cathedral at Burgos; the Madonna and the angels are especially fine, and the landscape on a level with her head is classical, and like Poussin. The Naples Museum possesses the original, unfinished, of a picture of which there are many repetitions—the Madonna about to cover the sleeping Infant with a veil, and SS. John the Baptist and Joseph. In the Berlin Museum also is a specimen of his colossal forms and ready brush—a 'Pietà' painted on stone. It is uncertain when the wall-paintings in the churches of S. Maria del Popolo, of the Pace, and S. Pietro in Montorio (all in Rome), were undertaken. Those in S. Pietro vary in process, being partly in fresco and partly in oil. They represent the 'Transfiguration' above, with the figures of a Sibyl and a Prophet in the spandrils, both showing the influence of the Sistine Chapel. Below is the 'Flagellation,' well known by frequent repetitions on a small scale, and now defaced by damp and injury.

* This magnificent work, which had lost much of its richness and brilliancy of colour through dirt and bad varnishes, was most judiciously cleaned, and restored to a great extent to its original condition, by Mr. William Dyer in 1881.



DESCENT FROM THE CROSS, by Rocco Marconi, Venice Academy.

In 1531 *Sebastiano* obtained the lucrative sinecure in Leo X.'s gift from which he derived his cognomen of *del Piombo*, from the leaden seals, or *bulla*, that were attached to papal official documents. He died in Rome in 1547.

The influence of *Giorgione* is seen in many painters who were not his direct scholars. Of these *Jacopo Palma*, called *Palma Vecchio* to distinguish him from his grand-nephew *Palma Giovane*, stands foremost. He was probably born about 1480 at Serinalta, a village near Bergamo, although he has been claimed by the Venetians as a native of Venice, and Vasari calls him a "Viniziano." Signor Morelli, whilst admitting that he is essentially a Venetian painter, maintains that he never entirely lost his Bergamasque character—never "laying aside his mountain-nature in his works"—and that his figures are of a more severe and energetic, but also of a coarser type than those of *Giorgione*, *Lotto*, and *Bonifazio Veronese*.* Little is known of his history or of his artistic education. He may have commenced his studies in the school of *Giovanni Bellini*, his early works showing the decided influence of that master—as the 'Tobias and the Angel' in the Stuttgart Gallery, in which the head of Tobias appears to be borrowed from that of the Infant Christ in a Madonna picture by *Bellini* in the Academy at Venice. It has been assumed that he developed the ample forms and gorgeous breadth of drapery, which are his characteristics, when only twenty years of age, and that he even influenced *Titian* and other eminent painters of Northern Italy. But this assumption is founded upon the date of 1500, inscribed upon a picture, a 'Santa Conversazione,' recently in the possession of M. Reizet at Paris, and now in that of the Duc d'Aumale, which proves to be, with the artist's name, a forgery.† He appears, on the contrary, to have been subject at different periods to the influence of various Venetian masters, such as *Giovanni Bellini*, *Giorgione*, *Titian*, *Lorenzo Lotto*, and others. Hence three distinct "manners" may be observed in his works, known as the

* 'Italian Masters in German Galleries,' p. 16.

† No known picture by him bears his signature; see Morelli, 'Italian Masters,' p. 24, etc.

Bellinesque, the Giorgionesque, and the blonde. The picture in the Stuttgart Gallery in the first manner has already been mentioned. An 'Adam and Eve' in the Brunswick Gallery, and the 'Woman taken in Adultery,' under the name of *Titian*, in a very damaged condition, in the Capitol (Rome) are further examples of it. Of his second, or Giorgionesque, manner, the finest specimen is the grand altar-piece of S. Barbara in the church of S. Maria Formosa, at Venice. This Saint was the patroness of the Venetian Artillery, and the picture was executed for the altar of the 'Bombadieri.' It is divided into four compartments. In the centre, S. Barbara, crowned and bearing the palm of martyrdom, stands on a pedestal flanked by two cannons, a truly noble, majestic, and queen-like figure, of the grandest Venetian type, and of a splendour of colouring recalling that of *Giorgione*. Her soft but commanding expression is at the same time quite characteristic of the painter. In the compartments to her right are SS. Sebastian and John the Baptist; in those to her left, SS. Anthony and Dominick, all full length, but of much smaller size than the centre figure. Above her is a lunette with a 'Pietà,' or Dead Christ. Of *Palma*'s third, or blonde, manner, the best example is perhaps the so-called 'Three Sisters' in the Dresden Gallery, which is the embodiment of his fair and full-grown class of beauty. Its original brightness and transparency of colour has unfortunately been destroyed by over-cleaning and injudicious restoration.

Before he had established his reputation at Venice, *Palma* was employed in painting altar-pieces for villages in his native valley of the Brembo in the province of Bergamo, of which three still exist—at Serinalta (his birth-place), Dossena and Peghera.* From 1515 to 1525, when he had become a finished master, he received commissions for the grand pictures which are still preserved in the church of San Stefano at Vicenza, and in that of S. Zerman, a village near Treviso. The former, an altar-piece representing the Virgin and Child enthroned with S. Lucia

* Morelli, p. 18.

Altar-piece by Paluna Vecchio, Vicenza.

standing on her left, and to her right St. George in armour with his banner—a grand figure recalling the S. Liberale in *Giorgione*'s picture at Castel-franco—is one of his finest works. The landscape, with trees and buildings, seen behind the curtain hanging over the throne, is of singular beauty (see illustration).

The altar-piece of S. Zerman, which remains in its original place, is not inferior to the one just described, but, like nearly every important picture in the Venetian territory, it has suffered severely from the ruthless hand of the restorer. The Madonna is here seen enthroned with the Child erect on her lap, with SS. Helena, Peter, Matthew, and John beside her, and an angel seated on the step of the throne playing the viol—full-length figures of life-size. A green curtain hangs behind the throne. There is a Bellinesque feeling in this grand picture, while the richness of the palette bears witness to the glories of the Venetian colouring of *Giorgione*.

One of the best and most solid of *Palma*'s works—an altar-piece originally painted for the church of Fontanelle, in the Venetian territory—is now in the Venice Academy. It represents St. Peter enthroned, with a volume on his knee, and four male and two female Saints.

The Dresden Gallery is rich in the works of *Palma*. In his third manner is the exquisite idyllic picture called 'Jacob saluting Rachel' (No. 240), attributed, as already stated, to *Giorgione*—with a beautiful, broadly-treated landscape, in which is seen a herd of cattle.* A Venus lying on white drapery (No. 269), is also in his blonde manner—a naked woman finely painted, but completely wanting in the purity and refinement of the sleeping Venus by *Giorgione* in the same room. A third picture—the 'Holy Family and SS. Joseph and Catherine'—is likewise in the master's third manner. The 'Three Sisters' has already been mentioned.

* The initials G. B. F. on this picture, supposed to signify 'Giorgio Barbarelli fecit,' or according to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle ('History of Italian Painting, North Italy,' vol. ii. p. 555), 'Giovanni Busi (*Cariani*) fece.' do not belong to the time when it was painted. See Morelli, 'It. Masters,' p. 152.

A small easel-picture by *Palma*—St. Peter presenting the donor, a young man, to the Virgin—is in the Colonna Palace; and another of the same class, the Madonna and Child, with St. Jerome and a female donor, presented by St. Anthony, in the Borghese Palace (Rome). The figures in these works are half-lengths, and under life-size—a form of composition already in vogue in the fifteenth century. *Palma Vecchio* was fond of representing the larger form of the 'Santa Conversazione,' where full-length and numerous figures group around the Virgin and Child, and seem to hold their court in retired and beautiful country nooks. A rich specimen of this class is in the Naples Gallery, with two donors—their heads and arms alone seen—below. Two more examples, greatly injured by restoration, are in the Vienna picture gallery; another, somewhat smaller, in the Leuchtenberg gallery at St. Petersburg. The charm of these works, with their rural accessories—the broken ground, the felled tree, the farmhouse in the distance—is not to be described. *Palma's* last work was probably the 'Adoration of the Magi,' in the Brera, which was finished by his imitator, *Cariani*. The hand of the two painters can readily be distinguished. The group of the 'Virgin and Child and St. Joseph' are by *Palma*, and very fine.

As a painter of female, and what may be called fancy, portraits, *Palma* rivals his great contemporaries *Giorgione* and *Titian*, and is occasionally concealed under their names. Two pictures in Rome—the one in the Barberini Palace, called 'La Schiava di Tiziano;' * the other, in the Sciarra Palace, known as 'La Bella di Tiziano'—are now both believed to be by *Palma*, as also the so-called portrait of Ariosto, in the National Gallery, attributed to *Titian*. But he is seen in undisputed originality in the Vienna picture gallery, where several female portraits, though greatly rubbed and injured, bear that stamp of beauty and amplitude which is *Palma's* peculiar type. Among them, and of more delicate form, is one known as his daughter Violante, and believed to

* Signor Morelli believes this picture to be a weak copy of one by a much later master than *Palma*.

have been *Titian*'s love.* The 'Lady with the Lute,' already mentioned (p. 551) as having been long classed in the Manfrin Gallery under the name of *Giorgione*, is proved, equally by internal and historical evidence, to be the work of *Palma*.†

Except for these portrait-like female heads, *Palma* did not often depart from the range of Madonnas and Saints then most in vogue. But a Lucretia in the Vienna picture gallery is a commanding figure of fine expression; and there is a similar subject in the Borghese Gallery at Rome. Some mythological subjects known to have been painted by him are missing.

Palma contributed much to the expansion of the art of the sixteenth century, and in him certain Venetian characteristics may be said to have been developed to their utmost limit. He was a prolific painter, and at his death in 1528 no less than forty unfinished works by his hand remained.

Rocco Marconi, born at Treviso, was a scholar of *Palma Vecchio*, and afterwards came under the influence of *Paris Bordone*. His colouring has a transparency and glow which is rare even in the pictures of *Giorgione;* at the same time he often degenerates into gaudiness, and is uninteresting in arrangement and expression. An altar-piece in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (Venice)—Christ between two Saints—still inclines to the early manner, and is a good example of his rich colouring. His representations of the 'Woman taken in Adultery,' in the Academy and in the Manfrin Palace, are overfilled with figures and weak in expression—a third, and the best of the three, is in the possession of Prince Giovanelli (Venice). A Christ between two Apostles, also in the Academy, is only valuable for its colouring. On the other hand, the painter has developed all his powers, with an unusual fulness of expression, in a large 'Descent from the Cross,' with a fine landscape background, in the same gallery (see woodcut). The group of the Dead Christ

* It is now known that *Palma* had no daughter, nor any legitimate children. The so-called 'Violante' was probably a favourite model.

† Described by the 'Anonimo' as belonging to Jeronimo Marcello as early as 1525. Frizzoni's ed., p. 170.

and mourning Virgin and Saints, is finely conceived, and altogether this large altar-piece is far superior to any other work of the master, who is generally weak, mannered and insipid. Pictures by him are rare out of Italy. In Venice they are not uncommon, frequently passing under the names of other painters—such for instance as a Holy Family with a kneeling donor, in the Manfrin Gallery, ascribed to *Lorenzo Lotto*. Nothing is known of his history, or of the time of his death.

Lorenzo Lotto is a painter of undoubted merit but little known, and to whom full justice has scarcely been done by writers on art. He has been looked upon as a mere imitator, without any manner of his own. But such was not the case. Although, at various times, he was undoubtedly under the influence of more than one of his great contemporaries—of *Giorgione*, of *Palma Vecchio*, of *Titian*, of *Correggio*, and others, he shows a marked individuality, and still maintains his Venetian character, being essentially a Venetian painter in colour, in sentiment, and in the conception of his subject. He was probably born about 1476 at Treviso, and commenced his art education, like *Palma Vecchio*, his junior in years, in the school of *Giovanni Bellini*, where the two young painters first became acquainted. But it was not until a later period that intimate relations seem to have existed between them. The earliest known picture by *Lotto* is in the Louvre, and is signed with his name, and dated 1500, proving that at that period he was already a mature painter. Other early works by him, such as a graceful altar-piece in the church of S. Cristina near Treviso; another in the church of Asolo; a picture in the Borghese Gallery (Rome), a Madonna in the Bridgewater Gallery (London), and the 'Marriage of St. Catherine' at Munich, all painted between the years 1505 and 1508, show a decided Bellinesque character. About 1510 a close friendship appears to have been established between *Lotto* and *Palma*, and they both studied, and endeavoured to imitate, the works of *Giorgione*. Later *Lotto* exercised an influence over *Palma* himself. Hence a picture in the Louvre—the 'Adoration of the Shepherds' (No. 274)—has been assigned to both masters. *Palma* was more refined,

and showed a higher sense of beauty, especially in the heads of his Madonnas, children, and female saints, than his fellow pupil who was more animated and original, and formed a more poetic conception of his subjects. *Lotto's* pictures are, however, sometimes distinguished by the fantastic and exaggerated element,—part grace and part affectation,—which is his peculiar characteristic, and by which his works when assigned to other painters, as they often are, may frequently be detected. His colouring is also usually rich and sparkling, with a play of light and shadow which is very attractive. In his Giorgionesque manner there is a charming picture in the Madrid Gallery, known as the 'Betrothment'—a handsome youth placing a ring upon the finger of a beautiful girl, both richly attired, whilst a Cupid is placing a yoke upon their necks. In the same collection, and in his Titianesque manner, there is a St. Jerome (No. 478), there ascribed to *Titian*. He appears as an imitator, almost as a rival, of that great master, in two grand altar-pieces at Venice — one in the church of the Carmine, in very bad condition, representing St. Nicholas and various Saints and Angels, with a fine landscape background; and the other in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, with S. Antonino, an Archbishop of Florence renowned for his charity, enthroned, whilst two priests beneath him distribute relief to, and receive petitions from, a number of poor people—a composition of much originality, and equally remarkable for its fine rich colour and its vigorous treatment* (see illustration). As an example of *Lotto's* so-called Correggiesque manner, Signor Morelli has pointed out a small and very beautiful little picture representing a Fawn playing on a flute in a meadow, in which a deer is grazing, in the Munich Gallery (No. 1266), there attributed to *Correggio*.†

Lotto's altar-pieces are numerous—frequently very grand in character, though unequal in merit—and contain a number

* This fine picture has been recently removed to the Venice Academy, where, it is to be feared, it will have to undergo the usual fatal process of restoration.

† 'Italian Masters in German Galleries,' p. 40.

of figures. They are to be seen in the churches of S. Bartolommeo, S. Spirito, and S. Bernardino at Bergamo, and in the March of Ancona, at Jesi, Recanati, Loreto, Castelnovo and Ancona. He decorated in 1524 the chapel of S. Barbara at Trescorre, at the entrance to the Val d'Endine, with a series of frescoes chiefly representing the legends of that Saint. He appears by a still existing receipt to have been commissioned to paint, in 1509, for one hundred ducats, some rooms in the upper story of the Vatican, but it is not known whether he executed the commission.*

He holds a very distinguished place as a portrait-painter, frequently showing in his works of this class a remarkable refinement and a rare power of seizing character and expression. The following portraits furnish excellent examples of these qualities—that of the Prothonotary Apostolic Giuliano and those of Agostino and Niccolò della Torre, and of himself, his wife and two children, in the National Gallery; that of a young man in the Municipal Museum, Milan; three, of great merit, in the Brera; the well-known portrait of a sculptor, at Hampton Court, long ascribed to *Correggio;* one of a young man in Venetian costume in the Vienna Gallery, under the name of *Titian;* one in the Borghese collection under that of *Pordenone*; and, lastly, one of an architect (No. 153), at Berlin. It is known from a letter of Pietro Aretino that *Titian* thought very highly of *Lotto*'s portraits.†

Lorenzo Lotto was a man of a retiring and religious disposition, and his works, with the exception of his portraits, are almost exclusively of a religious character. He passed much of his time in the Convent of SS. Giovanni e Paolo at

* Morelli, p. 32, note; and for the chapel at Trescorre, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'North Italy,' vol. ii. p. 515.

† Signor Morelli makes the following very just observation on *Lotto's* portraits: "All the better portraits by *Lotto* have that refined, inward elegance of feeling which marks the culminating point in the last stage of progressive art in Italy, and which is principally represented by *Leonardo da Vinci, Lorenzo Lotto, Andrea del Sarto* and *Correggio;* whereas the elegance of *Bronzino* in Tuscany, and of *Parmigianino* in North Italy, is an outward, affected one, which has nothing to do with the inner life of the person represented, and therefore characterises the first stage of declining art."

Venice. When from old age he had become infirm, and had lost his eyesight, he retired to the 'Santa Casa' of Loreto, where he died in 1555 or 1556, having been for some time supported by charity, and "having devoted his person and all his property to the Holy Virgin of Loreto."

Giovanni de' Busi, called *Cariani*, was another Bergamasque and a scholar of *Palma Vecchio*, who imitated the great Venetians, and whose works, when not signed, have been attributed to *Giorgione*, *Palma*, and *Pordenone*. He was born about 1480 at Fuipiano, in the valley of the Brembo, and died after 1541. He has generally breadth of treatment and warmth of tone, with common forms and unmeaning puffy modeling; but the picturesque costume of the time and the general air render his pictures attractive. A nearly square picture of seven portraits—half-lengths, four women and three men—in the Roncalli Collection at Bergamo, is a characteristic specimen of these qualities, though not one of his best works. It is signed "*Io. Carianus Bergomens*," and dated 1519. A Madonna and Child of brilliant colour, signed "*I. Carianus*," in the Frizzoni Collection, at Bergamo; a Virgin and Child with Saints, in the Brera; and a Lot and his Daughters, in the Municipal Gallery at Milan, are attractive pictures. He was, like *Lotto*, whose colouring he sometimes imitates, a good portrait painter. There is a fine portrait by him in the public gallery, Bergamo; and an excellent one of a man in a dark dress, rich and Giorgionesque in colour, in the possession of Signor Morelli. *Cariani*'s works are mostly to be found at Bergamo and in the neighbourhood. There is a characteristic picture by him, a Holy Family and Saints, in the National Gallery.

The most distinguished of *Palma Vecchio*'s scholars and "the most brilliant and cheerful of the painters of the post-Bellinesque school" was *Bonifazio*, whose works are frequently confounded with those of his master; but who exceeded him in poetic feeling and refinement of sentiment, and was not far behind him as a colourist. It is only of late that this remarkable painter has become generally known and fully appreciated, his pictures being usually attributed to *Gior-*

gione and other great masters of the Venetian school, and inferior works by two other painters of the same name—probably his brother and his son or nephew — being indiscriminately assigned to him. His family name is not known —that of *Bembo* sometimes given to him by writers on art belonging to a painter of a much earlier period and of a different school.* He appears to have belonged to a family of artists and to have been born at Verona. The "Anonimo," and other writers who lived shortly after him, call him the "Veronese." It was Vasari who first termed him *Bonifazio Veneziano*, and he has been followed by others in claiming Venice for *Bonifazio*'s birthplace. He was probably born about 1490. Nothing is known of his early history. The first notice of him is his admission to a brotherhood at Verona in 1523. He appears to have settled early in life at Venice, for, although a Veronese by birth, his manner in no way partakes of the Veronese school, but is essentially Venetian in colour and in feeling. It is only in his lively imagination and in the gracefulness of his figures that he shows his origin. "While the cords of his colouring are neither so delicate and startling as in *Giorgione*, nor so profound and powerful as in *Palma* and *Titian*, nor so ingenious as in *Lotto*, they wield a peculiar charm over the eye of the spectator by their bright, cheerful, and harmonious lustre." †

Bonifazio's earliest works have been frequently ascribed to *Palma Vecchio*; as, for instance, a picture of great beauty and gorgeous colour and in admirable preservation—a Virgin and Child with Saints, treated after the fashion of that master, formerly in the possession of the late Signor Enrico Andreossi at Milan, and now in the National Gallery. A still earlier picture by him in the Ambrosiana, ascribed to *Giorgione*—the Virgin presenting fruit to the Child Jesus, who is in the arms of St. Joseph, the Infant St. John, and the Archangel with Tobias—is in the same Palmesque manner. Another early picture by the master in the Colonna agli

* *Facio*, or *Bonifacio*, *Bembo* flourished in the second half of the fifteenth century, and was employed at Milan by the first Francesco Sforza.

† Signor Morelli (p. 185, &c.) gives the fullest account of *Bonifazio*.

DIVES AND LAZARUS; by Bonifazio. Venice Academy.

Apostoli Palace, at Rome, a 'Sacra Conversazione,' is attributed to *Titian*. But it is at Venice where the works of this delightful master may be best studied. The Academy there possesses several of his finest. The most important is the well-known 'Dives and Lazarus'—a picture of the most exquisite sentiment, still retaining much of its original gorgeous colouring, notwithstanding repaint and restoration. The painter has here shown a poetic imagination—rarely equalled by the greatest masters of his time—in the exquisite group of the three musicians, and the touching expression of the beautiful girl seated to the left of the wealthy voluptuary who holds her hand and from whom she turns away as the music recalls the days of her innocence. The whole range of Italian art has not produced a more deeply felt and poetical composition (see illustration). Scarcely less true and fine in feeling and rich in colour is the 'Judgment of Solomon,' in the same collection, in which the painter has shown his power of expression by contrasting the feelings of the two mothers who claim the living child, in their respective countenances and action—the one with grief too deep for words, mutely appealing in her anguish with clasped hands to the Judge; the other urging her demand with that passionate gesticulation which Italian women can always command. In the same gallery the 'Massacre of the Innocents,' with a variety of incidents, is treated with much dramatic power, and an 'Adoration of the Magi,' of great splendour of colour, has a beautiful landscape background. In the Royal Palace at Venice there are also several characteristic pictures of the master. The Brera possesses one of the best known of his works, long attributed to *Giorgione*, representing the Finding of Moses, in which he has introduced numerous figures in the gorgeous Venetian costumes of his time, and a variety of pleasing and graceful episodes. *Bonifazio* appears to have been fond of this subject, and repeated it more than once. There is an example in the Dresden Gallery (No. 286), which is not, however, to be classed with his best works.*

* The other pictures attributed to him in this collection are not by his hand. The catalogue still retains the false name of *Bonifacio Bembo*.

He is rarely seen to the North of the Alps. A much damaged picture by him at Hampton Court—'Diana and Actæon'—is ascribed to *Giorgione*. To Lady Eastlake belongs a Holy Family and Saints by him. The Editor possesses an unfinished work by *Bonifazio* representing the 'Visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon,' with numerous graceful figures and fine architecture, recalling *Paris Bordone*. It shows that in technical treatment he followed *Giorgione*, preparing his subject in tempera and completing it with transparent oil-glazes.

Bonifazio was very skilful in the representation of velvets, brocades, and other rich stuffs. As a landscape painter he is one of the best among the Venetians. In his backgrounds, which are usually very fine, and of a blueish tone, he is fond of introducing, like *Titian*, the strange and fantastic peaks of the Dolomite Mountains, as in the picture in the National Gallery. By these characteristic features, and by a little long-haired dog, often seen in his pictures, he may generally be recognised. He died in 1540.

The second *Bonifazio* was a younger brother of the painter above noticed. He, also, appears to have been born at Verona, and to have studied at Venice under *Palma Vecchio*. He probably assisted his brother in some of his works—as in the 'Finding of Moses,' in the Brera, in which, in parts, an inferior hand may be detected. He closely imitated the elder *Bonifazio*'s manner, so that pictures by him frequently pass under the name of his brother—such as two large works called the 'Triumph of Religion,' and the 'Triumph of Science,' formerly in the King of Holland's collection, where they were attributed to *Titian*, and now in the public gallery at Weimar. By him also are the 'Christ at Emmaus,' in the Brera; and the 'Raising of Lazarus,' and two Holy Families, in the Louvre. He never acquired the technical skill of his brother, and was far behind him in richness of colour, in refinement, and in the expression of sentiment. He died in 1553.

The third *Bonifazio*, who may properly be styled the '*Veneziano*,' was probably the son of one of the two painters just noticed, and was born at Venice between 1525

and 1530. By him are the numerous groups of saints in the Venice Academy, painted for religious institutions and Brotherhoods in 1562, and a Last Supper, in the church of S. Maria Materdomini. Of his later period there is a good altar-piece, also in the Venice Academy, representing the Virgin in the clouds with various Saints beneath her, in which he endeavours to imitate *Titian*. As in the case of the second *Bonifazio*, his works frequently pass for those of the elder painter of the name, from which they may be easily distinguished by their less brilliant and solid colouring, and by the absence of that fine poetic feeling which generally distinguishes the first *Bonifazio*. He was still living in 1579.

We have here to mention another painter of remarkable powers and playful fancy, hitherto but little known or appreciated, who, although not a Venetian by birth, came to Venice to complete his art education, and took *Giorgione* for his model—*Girolamo Romanino*. He was born at Brescia, probably about 1485. His family belonged originally to the small town of Romano, in the province of Bergamo, and his grandfather, Luchino, bore the name of Romanino from his birthplace. His father, who had removed to Brescia, was a painter, and his three sons, of whom *Girolamo* was the eldest, were brought up to that profession. *Girolamo*'s first instructor, after he had left his father's studio, is said to have been one *Stefano Rizzi*, of whom nothing is known. Signor Morelli conjectures that he was influenced in his youth by *Civerchio*. From the year 1509 to 1513 he lived and worked at Venice and Padua, and it was then, from studying the works of *Giorgione*, that he acquired that brilliant golden colouring for which his works are celebrated. It was during this period that he painted the 'Pietà,' signed and dated 1510, in the collection of Lord Wimborne, at Canford, in which he shows that he had not yet attained to the maturity of his powers, but had profited as a colourist from his residence at Venice. In 1514 he painted at Brescia one of his grandest works*—the

* Misled by a date on the frame, which is a beautiful specimen of the work of the wood-carver *Stefano Lamberti* of Brescia, some writers on art

altar-piece in the church of S. Francesco, representing the enthroned Madonna attended by six Saints of the Franciscan order, one standing on each side and four kneeling in front. The colour is deep and glowing; the sky brilliantly bright. A silver-gray drapery, with a broad gold border, at the feet of the Madonna, has a beautiful effect. About 1520 *Romanino* executed the gorgeous altar-piece, formerly in the church of S. Giustina at Padua, and now in the public gallery of that city—a work which may be classed with the masterpieces of Italian art. The effect of colour is that of amber and gold, and nothing can exceed the richness of the draperies and the skilful imitation of texture. In the churches and galleries of Brescia are other altar-pieces by him of great merit; and it is in that city where he can be best studied. The National Gallery possesses an important work by him, painted in 1525—an altar-piece in five compartments, with the Virgin and Joseph adoring the Infant Christ in the centre, and four Saints at the sides, St. Alexander in armour being especially fine; but it wants the richness and brilliancy of colour seen in some of his works. A 'Pietà' by him, with numerous figures, and of grand dimensions, conspicuous for its truth to nature and for its golden colour, is in the Berlin Museum.

Romanino was also a fresco-painter of considerable ability. He decorated the walls of the Castle of Malpaga, the fortified residence of Colleoni, near Bergamo, with frescoes representing, in different scenes, the visit of Christian II., King of Denmark, in 1475, to that celebrated Commander of the armies of Venice.* Remains of frescoes by him are also to be seen in the Castle of Trent, at Brescia, in the cathedral at Cremona, at many places in the Val Canonica, and elsewhere.

He was an excellent portrait-painter, as shown by the portrait of a young man, quite Giorgionesque in character,

have assigned this picture to the year 1502, when *Romanino* could have been scarcely seventeen years of age.

* These frescoes have been copied for the Arundel Society. Only those in the Court Yard of the Castle are believed to have been executed by *Romanino*; the rest are by his scholars.

in the possession of the Fenaroli family at Brescia, ascribed to *Titian*, and that of a truculent-looking Brescian nobleman, in the collection of Signor Morelli at Milan.

Romanino is supposed to have died at an advanced age in 1566. Owing to the appellation 'Girolamo da Brescia,' borne by *Savoldo*, the works of that painter are sometimes ascribed, though by no practised eye, to *Romanino*. He had several scholars and imitators, whose inferior works are frequently attributed to him. Amongst them may be mentioned *Francesco Prato* of Caravaggio, by whom there are signed pictures at Brescia, Milan, and elsewhere. His colours are less brilliant, and his drawing weaker than those of his master. *Giulio Campi* of Cremona (b. 1500–d.1572) in his early manner imitated *Romanino*, to whom a picture in the Brera—a 'Virgin and Child with Saints'—now ascribed to *Campi* was formerly attributed. He also fell under the influence of *Pordenone*, and subsequently under that of *Giulio Romano*, becoming an eclectic painter. His altar-piece in the church of S. Abondio, at Cremona, with SS. Nazzaro and Celso, and two boy angels in the foreground, is a powerfully coloured picture, though defective in drawing.

Alessandro Bonvicino, better known as *Moretto da Brescia*, was probably born in that city in 1498.* Unlike his fellow countryman *Romanino*, he did not go to Venice for his art education, and become a follower or imitator of the great Venetian painters of his time. He studied in his native city under *Ferramola*, and formed a style of his own, which, though combining some of the best qualities of his contemporaries, is distinguished, especially in his second, or so-called 'silvery,' manner, by a cool, tender, and harmonious scale of colour which has a peculiar charm, and is entirely his own. He can scarcely, therefore, be said to belong to the Venetian school, although some writers on art trace in him the influence of *Titian*, whom, indeed, he almost rivalled in the

* There was another painter in the second half of the fifteenth century called *Alessandro Ardesio*, who painted at Brescia and in the Val Seriana, but it is not known how *Moretto* was related to him. See 'Alessandro Bonvicino, soprannominato il Moretto, pittore Bresciano,' by Dr. Stefano Fenaroli. *Moretto* appears to have had an ancestor of the same name.

stateliness and dignity of his figures. In his later period his colour is sometimes less pleasing, and dull and red, especially in the flesh tints, as in a picture in the National Gallery. His compositions are occasionally of the highest order; and in such cases he evinces so much beauty and nobility of sentiment that it is unaccountable that he should, until a late period, have obtained little more than local celebrity. In company with *Ferramola*, his master, he painted at the early age of eighteen the shutters of the organ in the old Duomo of Brescia, and a banner for the Brotherhood of the Holy Cross in the same city. In 1521 he entered, in company with *Romanino*, into a contract to execute certain frescoes in the chapel of the Sacrament in the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista (Brescia), half the number to be undertaken by each, and to be completed in three years. He now abandoned the manner of his master, and adopted his "silvery manner"—by which he is best known. Of his earlier time (1518) there is a 'Christ bearing the Cross,' in the public gallery at Bergamo (ascribed to *Titian*), and a fresco of a similar subject in a lunette over an altar in the church of S. Giuseppe (Brescia).

Moretto's works are numerous in the churches of his native city. In S. Giovanni Evangelista are the 'Coronation of the Virgin'; the Madonna enthroned, with numerous Saints, on the high altar; the 'Departure of the youthful Baptist for the Desert,' and the 'Baptist Preaching'—both in tempera, and greatly injured; and the 'Massacre of the Innocents.' The 'Coronation of the Virgin,' with numerous figures, life-size, in SS. Nazzaro e Celso, is a noble work, in which a figure of the Archangel Michael, for beauty of form and for grace may be classed among the finest productions of Italian art. An altar-piece in S. Clemente (*Moretto*'s burial-place), represents the Madonna and Child enthroned in a semicircular recess, under festoons of foliage and fruit among which Amorini sport, looking down on SS. Clemente, Florian, Catherine, and the Magdalen. The two female Saints are kneeling. S. Clemente also contains a 'Marriage of St. Catherine,' with SS. Chiara, Jerome and Paul, and the Madonna and Child enthroned above. The Saints are

FEAST OF THE PHARISEE, by Moretto, Venice

relieved against a grey wall, over which hangs gorgeous crimson velvet drapery, with a broad gold border. In the same church is a picture of St. Ursula with other Saints, placed on an equal line, with two swallow-tailed ensigns bearing the red cross fluttering above.

By 1530 *Moretto* is seen in the fullest development of his art. This is the date of the grand picture of St. Margaret treading on the monster, with SS. Jerome and Francis at her side, in the church of S. Francesco (Brescia). A rather later specimen is the Enthronement of St. Anthony of Padua, between St. Nicholas of Tolentino and St. Anthony the Abbot, in the public gallery of Brescia, which has a Titianesque stateliness. The same may be said of the 'Supper at Emmaus,' in the same gallery.

To 1540–42 belong the 'Glory of the Madonna,' with four female Saints, in S. Giorgio at Verona; the large picture of the Virgin and Child, St. Elizabeth and the Baptist, with donors, in the Berlin Museum; the 'Transfiguration,' in SS. Nazzaro e Celso, at Brescia; the Virgin and Child, with the four Fathers of the Latin Church and John the Baptist, in S. Maria Maggiore, Trent; and several other large works. In 1544 he finished the great picture of the 'Feast of the Pharisee' for the Convent of S. Giacomo at Monselice, now in the church of S. Maria della Pietà at Venice, one of his grandest and most important works (see illustration). He here unites the harmony, force, and brilliancy of the schools of Venice and Brescia, and anticipates the pomp of dress and gorgeousness of architecture proper to *Paul Veronese*. The heads are finely modeled and worthy of *Titian;* the expression of Christ and of the Magdalen very fine; the young woman to the right of the spectator a very beautiful figure. In the background *Moretto* has introduced a view of Brescia. Of his altar-pieces, none are better preserved, or do more justice to his silvery tones, than the large picture from the Northwick Collection, now in the National Gallery; and the Madonna and Child between SS. Anthony and Sebastian, in the Städel Institute, Frankfort. But the highest type of *Moretto*'s charm of dignity of figure and richness of colour is seen in a picture in the Vienna

Gallery, representing a Brescian nobleman kneeling before S. Giustina, who is standing with the Unicorn, the emblem of chastity, by her side—a very noble work, which was long alternately attributed to *Giorgione* and *Pordenone*, but which has an individual character entirely distinct from that of both those masters.

Moretto's small easel-pictures are rare. An exquisite specimen, as remarkable for its fine sentiment as for the beauty of its colouring, is 'Christ with the Woman of Samaria at the Well,' in the collection of Signor Morelli at Milan. Another of the same class—a Virgin and Child between two Saints—from the Averoldi family of Brescia, is in the possession of the Editor. *Moretto* excelled as a portrait-painter, imparting to his sitters the same dignity with which he imbued his saints. Very fine examples are to be seen in the National Gallery, in the full-length portrait of an Italian nobleman (dated 1526), and the half-length of Count Sciarra Martinengo Cesaresco, of a noble Brescian family, killed in France in the wars of the Huguenots, a work of later date; and in other public collections. He is known to have taken the likeness of Pietro Aretino in 1544, and he may have gone to Venice for the purpose; but the picture has disappeared.

Moretto was of a gentle, pious nature, and his works are almost exclusively of a quiet religious character. In representing strong emotions and dramatic situations he failed—as in the 'Massacre of the Innocents' in the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista (Brescia) already noticed, and in the Martyrdom of S. Peter in the Ambrosiana (Milan). In the technical part of his art he attained great proficiency, and his work is always of the most careful. He is famous for distinguishing the materials of drapery, for his gorgeous brocades and soft wools. This power is seen more or less in all his pictures. An especial example of it is one of simple incidents in the church of S. Maria dei Miracoli at Brescia. He worked almost exclusively for his native city. The decorations by him of a chamber in the Palazzo Martinengo della Fabrica with beautiful female heads are specially worthy of notice.

The last date on his pictures is 1554—on a 'Pietà,' with several figures life-size, of fine colour, but showing the decay of the artist's powers, in the Frizzoni collection at Bergamo. He died in 1555, leaving several scholars and imitators, whose works are found in the Brescian territory, but who attained to no celebrity, with the exception of *Moroni.**

The celebrated portrait-painter, *Giovanni Battista Moroni*, was born at Bondio, a village in the province of Bergamo, probably about 1525. He is believed to have entered the studio of *Moretto* when fifteen years of age. In his early works he is an imitator of *Moretto*'s latest manner—when that painter's flesh-tints are of a reddish hue—sometimes even copying his pictures. To this period belong an altar-piece in the church of Gorlago, near Bergamo, and a half-figure of Christ in profile in the public gallery of that city, in both of which he appears as an imitator of his master. He subsequently abandoned this manner for one more silvery in tone; and lastly adopted his third, or what may be termed his 'naturalistic' style. In all three his portraits are almost equally fine. They are full of life, and are painted with great individual truth, and with an ease of attitude and absence of constraint which show a high order of merit. The National Gallery contains more than one masterpiece by *Moroni*—such as a full-length portrait of a Brescian nobleman of the Fenaroli family, and a half-length of a tailor, dressed in a white doublet, and red trunk hose, of extraordinary merit, and perhaps his *chef-d'œuvre* (both in his silvery manner); a lady seated in an arm-chair, in his first or reddish manner, somewhat monotonous in colour; and portraits of a Lawyer and an Italian Ecclesiastic in his third manner. In the Duke of Sutherland's Collection in Stafford House, there is a remarkable portrait by him, miscalled 'Titian's Schoolmaster,' and long ascribed to that master. The Uffizi and Pitti Galleries

* His biographer, Dr. Fenaroli, mentions among them *Agostino Galeazzi*, *Francesco Richinio*, *Luca Mombello*, *Pietro Marone*, and *Girolamo Rossi*. See also an essay on Moretto and his works, by Signor Gustavo Frizzoni in the 'Giornale di Erudizione Artistica.' Perugia, 1876.

possess several excellent specimens; in the Brera there is a splendid full-length portrait of Antonio Navagero, a 'Podesta' of Bergamo, dated 1565; two of his best are at Munich and in the Städel Institute, Frankfort; and others are to be found in many public and private collections.

Moroni was a strictly naturalistic painter, representing the human face on canvas with wonderful truth and fidelity, and conveying the conviction of a perfect likeness. He had little or no imagination, and he very rarely attempts to give the higher intellectual character of his sitter. In this respect he was inferior to *Moretto*. In religious subjects, and others in which the highest qualities of art are required, he shows himself a weak and mannered painter, and his works of that class are of little interest. He died in 1578, whilst executing his altar-piece of the 'Last Judgment,' for the church of Gorlago. It is only of late years that *Moroni*'s reputation as a portrait-painter has been established. His works were almost confined to his native province. When they found their way into foreign collections they were usually assigned to *Titian*, to whom, indeed, he was little inferior when at his best. There is a tradition that the great Venetian painter was in the habit of recommending distinguished citizens of *Bergamo*, who came to him for their portraits, to sit to *Moroni*.

Girolamo Sordo, or *Girolamo Padovano*, or *del Santo*, is a painter to whom various frescoes in Padua, in the churches of S. Giustina, S. Francesco, and S. Maria in Vanzo—and a curious picture of a genealogical tree and other works in the Santo—are attributed. The remains of these works show him to have been a poor imitator of *Giorgione* and *Titian*. *Sordo* is traced by records up to 1546.

Girolamo Muziano was a scholar of *Romanino*, but became a follower of *Michael Angelo*.

Calisto da Lodi, son of *Martino Piazza* (who has been referred to in our account of the Lombard school, p. 386), is a painter who appears to have passed from the school of Lodi into that of *Romanino*. There is a 'Nativity' by him in the public gallery of Brescia, dated 1524, and a 'Visitation,' in the church of S. Maria Calchera (Brescia), dated 1525.

The Beheading of the Baptist is a favourite subject with *Calisto*—one is in the Vienna Gallery; another, the best of the two, dated 1530, in the S. Incoronata, at Lodi.

As a fresco-painter he possessed power and freedom of hand. On the stairs leading to the Library in the Brera are three frescoes by him removed from the Convent of S. Ambrosio, representing the marriage at Cana, painted in 1545, which may be considered the best of his works. He also executed in the church of S. Maurizio (Milan), the decorations, above an altar and on the pilasters of a side chapel (to the right of the nave), with 'putti' and flowers and fruit, finely drawn and rich in colour. In an altar-piece by him in the Brera—a Virgin and Child, with two saints and an Angel—(1530), the influence of *Romanino* is very perceptible. He signs himself alternately 'Calistus Laudensis' and 'Calistus de Platea,' and sometimes combines both signatures.

Lattanzio Gambara, a Brescian, the scholar and son-in-law of *Romanino*, advances late into the sixteenth century (he died about 1574), and shows a corresponding floridness and facility. He painted frescoes in the Castle of Brescia of the Triumphs of Bacchus; and in the church of S. Faustino Maggiore (Brescia) the ceiling is covered with Gods and Goddesses by him. Some of his best works are in the Duomo of Parma. The head of an old man in the Municipal Museum of Milan is a good example of his manner.

Altobello Melloni, a native of Cremona, was also a pupil of *Romanino*. He took his share in the series of decorations in the Cathedral of Cremona—the joint work of himself, his master, *Boccaccino*, *Pordenone*, and *Gianfrancesco Bembo*—and painted on both sides of the nave subjects from the life of Christ. In the 'Massacre of the Innocents' he has introduced portrait heads of some power. The 'Christ and the Disciples going to Emmaus' in the National Gallery is one of his best works. He is seen as a portrait painter in the Castelbarca collection at Milan.*

* Among the numerous scholars of *Romanino*, Signor Morelli mentions *Sebastiano Aragonese*, of Brescia, whose works are seen at Torre on the Lago di Garda, and *Girolamo Muziano* before mentioned, also of Brescia,

Girolamo Savoldo is another name of which Brescia may be proud. He was probably born in 1484 or 1485, of a noble family, and was more an amateur than a painter by profession. His works are consequently rare. He appears to have been a fellow-pupil with *Romanino*, who was of the same age. He was at one time of his life at Florence, where he was enrolled in the Painters' guild; but he shows no Florentine influence whatever in his works. He subsequently settled at Venice, where he studied under *Giovanni Bellini* and *Titian*. But surrounded as he was by the influence of the great contemporary masters of North Italy, he preserved a distinctness of manner and colour which shows a strong subjectiveness of feeling. He is easily recognised by his rich dark scale, with a peculiar velvetness in the treatment of flesh—effects which partake more of twilight than full daylight. He was, moreover, endowed with a poetical imagination, and there is a solemn grandeur in his backgrounds, with effects of sunset or dawn, which places him among the first landscape painters of his time. Nevertheless, no master's name was, until very recently, so entirely forgotten, and no master's works have passed, and still do pass, more persistently under every possible and impossible name other than his own. The 'Glorification of the Virgin' with four Saints beneath, in the Brera, is one of the finest examples of his art (see illustration). A 'St. Jerome in prayer,' with a view of Pesaro (a town he was fond of introducing into his backgrounds) and its harbour and shipping, in the haze of twilight, and a blue mountain against a golden sky—in the possession of the Editor—is a work of deep poetic feeling.* A 'Transfiguration' in the Ambrosiana (Milan) has been so entirely repainted that scarcely a trace of the master's hand remains. A *Virgin* and Child with Saints, and a small 'Nativity,' with a fine effect of dawn, both in the Turin Gallery, have been long severally cata-

by whom there are works in the Doria-Pamfili Gallery, Rome. 'Italian Masters,' etc., p. 405, *note*.

* The study for the head of St. Jerome in this picture, in black chalk, is in the Louvre Collection of Drawings, formerly under the name of *Titian*, but now assigned to its right author. The picture is signed by the painter.

THE GLORIFICATION OF THE VIRGIN by Gaudenzio in the Brera Milan

logued as by *Pordenone* and *Titian*. An 'Adoration of the Shepherds,' in the Pitti, also bears the name of *Titian*, and is almost worthy of it, but it is disfigured by over-paint. A vein of realism, combined with the mystery of his deep colours and half-lights, is seen in the very attractive picture of a woman shrouded in a mantle, called 'Mary Magdalene approaching the Sepulchre,' in the National Gallery, of which there is a 'replica' in the Berlin Museum. A fine portrait of a flute-player, his face shadowed by his hat, is in the possession of the Earl of Wemyss, in Scotland. The so-called and much repainted portrait of Gaston de Foix, with mirrors repeating the figure, in the Louvre (of which there is a 'replica' at Hampton Court), long attributed to *Giorgione*, has now asserted its title to be by *Savoldo*. It is surmised by Signor Cavalcaselle that an altar-piece at Treviso—hitherto ascribed to a mysterious painter, whose hand is nowhere else seen, of the name of *Fra Marco Pensabene*—may have been begun by that painter, and continued and in great measure executed by *Savoldo*. The question, however, as to the authorship of this fine work must be considered as still unsolved. Other works by this remarkable painter are an altar-piece in the church of S. Maria in Organo at Verona, ascribed to *Titian;* a 'Nativity' in the church of S. Giobbe at Venice, which, although much repainted, is still full of tender beauty; a 'Transfiguration' in the Uffizi, fine in colour, but the action of the three Apostles awkwardly rendered; and a picture at Windsor Castle under the name of *Giorgione*.

The date of *Savoldo*'s death is not known.

By *Jacopo Savoldo*, probably a brother of *Girolamo*, there is a signed picture in the Venice Academy, representing SS. Peter and Paul, the first Hermits. Another work by him was formerly in the Manfrin Collection. He was a mere imitator of his brother.

Girolamo d' Antonio, a Carmelite, is a Brescian, with no connection with the Venetian phase of the Brescian school. He resided with his order in Florence, where he is seen in a fresco of Christ as the Man of Sorrows, in the church of the Carmine, signed and dated 1504. There is an altar-piece

by him in the Scuola della Carità at Savona, signed and dated 1519.

Paolo Zoppo is a name known in connection with *Giovanni Bellini* in 1505. He was a Brescian by birth, and is said to have been a scholar of *Perugino*. Various decaying frescoes in Brescia, in the churches of S. Pietro in Oliveto and S. Domenico, are assigned to him. It is surmised that *Paolo Zoppo* may have been identical with *Vincenzo Foppa* the younger, of whom no authentic records have yet come to light, but there seem no solid grounds for such an idea. Such notices as exist of this painter, none of them of any antiquity, describe him as the pupil of *Vincenzo Foppa* the elder, and assign to him a number of frescoes in Brescia which to a certain extent corroborate that assertion. But he shows himself also an imitator of *Romanino*.

Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone,* born 1483 was the son of a native of Corticelle del Lodesano near Cremona, who had settled and married at Pordenone in the Friuli. This painter has borne many names. He signs himself *Portuonensis*, or '*Pord.*,' from his birthplace; '*Corticellis*,' from his father's; while the name of *Regillo* is believed to have been assumed on his receiving a patent of knighthood from the King of Hungary. His real name was *Sacchi*. He has been erroneously called *Licinio*, which has caused him to be confounded with *Bernardo Licinio*, supposed to be a relative—an inferior painter, of whom we shall make mention. *Pordenone*'s master is not known; but he evidently formed himself by a study of the works of *Giorgione* and *Titian*,—most probably at Venice. He has left numerous works on canvas and in fresco in various edifices at Pordenone; in the Town-hall at Udine; in the church of S. Antonio, and elsewhere, at Conegliano; at Treviso; and in obscure places such as Villanuova, Torre, and Rorai Grande near Pordenone. All of them have suffered, and some are under whitewash. The 'Madonna of Mercy,' in the Cathedral of Pordenone, covering with her robe a donor with his wife and three children, while St. Joseph plays with the Infant

* For this painter see Maniago, 'Storia delle belle arti Friulane.'

Christ, and St. Christopher is seen in the torrent with the Child again on his shoulders, is known to have been executed in 1515. The Virgin is of a delicate type of physiognomy, and the whole work, though much injured, shows a refined Venetian influence. Of the other canvas picture behind the high altar—St. Mark with numerous saints and angels—scarcely a sound portion is left. In the same cathedral are the figures of St. Erasmus and St. Roch—the latter known to have been a portrait of the painter himself. One of his best works is an altar-piece in the church of S. Giovanni Elimosinario at Venice, with SS. Catherine of Alexandria, Sebastian, and Roch, and a boy angel. The female Saint is a noble woman of the Venetian type, recalling *Palma Vecchio*, and the figure of St. Sebastian is finely modeled. Although this picture has been much restored, it still preserves some of its rich and harmonious colouring. It is dated 1530 (see illustration). *Pordenone*'s chief strength in fresco is seen in later works, ranging between 1520 and 1529. The most notable, among numerous examples, consist of scenes from the Passion, in the Cathedral at Cremona; the History of the Cross, with figures of Prophets, Saints, and Evangelists, which cover the choir of the parish church of Casarsa; the frescoes in S. Maria di Campagna at Piacenza; and those in the church of the Castle of S. Salvatore (Collalto) near Conegliano, an early work of the master showing the influence of *Giorgione* and *Titian*.* Greatly damaged and wretchedly restored as are most of these grand and important frescoes, they still reveal *Pordenone* as one of the greatest masters in that art. Power of drawing and foreshortening, energetic action, warmth and breadth of colour, grand management of light, freedom of hand, and dignity of conception, all combine to place *Pordenone* in this walk of art on a level with his most famous contemporaries. In the Prophets and Sibyls, especially around the cupola of the Madonna di Campagna at Piacenza, he may even be said to stand higher than any other fresco-painter. He is also seen to advantage in large

* Two of these frescoes have been copied for the Arundel Society.

pictures such as a beautiful altar-piece of his early time at Sussigana; the 'Glory of S. Gottardo' in the Town-hall at Pordenone; and in two in the Cathedral at Spilimbergo, with figures larger than life, in one of which—the 'Conversion of St. Paul'—the armed horse with one leg over the edge of the picture is finely conceived; the other, the 'Assumption of the Virgin,' though terribly ruined, still shows much grandeur. "The young angels above are admirable; their general character rather Raphaelesque than Venetian. The foreshortened Madonna (the upper part only preserved) is very noble." *

These immense works account for the rarity of oil-pictures by his hand, and also perhaps for their comparative inferiority. His 'S. Lorenzo Giustiniani, with Saints' (see woodcut), in the Academy, Venice, is not an attractive picture. He is seen to greater advantage in a picture in the church of S. Rocco (Venice,) in which St. Martin, a grand figure in armour, mounted on a white horse, is represented dividing his cloak with one of a crowd of beggars—men, women, and children—whilst St. Christopher is looking on. It is a noble and very animated composition, with some very beautiful heads of women and children. Dr. Waagen assigns to him two large pictures at Burleigh—the 'Finding of Moses,' and the 'Adoration of the Kings'—hitherto given to *Titian* and *Bassano*. *Pordenone* died in Ferrara, 1538, and was buried there.

Bernardo Licinio, said to be distantly related to *Pordenone*, was a very inferior painter. He signs himself 'Licinus.' He has a common, Palmesque character, with heavy forms and inexpressive full-blown faces of light ruddy character. He dealt in portraits and single heads, which were long attributed to *Pordenone*, but are now known to be the work of *Bernardo*. The earliest date on his works is 1524; the latest 1541. A large altar-piece in the Frari (Venice)—the Virgin and Child enthroned, with Saints—is the most favourable example of them. A Virgin and Child, with Saints and two donors, once in the Manfrin Collection, now in that of

* Memorandum by Sir C. L. Eastlake. Pordenone, 1863.

GLORY OF S. LORENZO GIUSTINIANI, by G. Antonio Pordenone
in the Academy at Venice.

Lord Wimborne, is also attractive for colour and chiaroscuro. There is also a picture by him of himself and his family in the Borghese Gallery (Rome). Some of his portraits are deserving of praise. By his scholar and imitator, *Francesco Beccaruzzi*, there is a picture in the Venice Academy, and the portrait of a lady in the Bergamo Gallery.

Gio. Antonio Licinio and *Giulio Licinio* are also recorded as painters and kinsmen of *Pordenone*. But his most important pupil was *Pomponio Amalteo*, his son-in-law (b. 1505–d. 1584), who resided habitually at S. Vito near Treviso. He excelled in fresco, and has a certain brilliancy and spirit, which have caused his works to be attributed to his master, whom he imitated and exaggerated. The church of the Hospital at S. Vito was decorated by him with scenes from the life of the Virgin. Fragments of frescoes, representing the Judgments of Daniel, Solomon and Trajan, are seen in the Loggia of the Town-hall at Coneda. He also laboured at Udine. His works are numerous, and usually signed and dated.

Giovanni Maria Zaffoni, commonly called *Calderari*, was an imitator, if not a scholar, of *Bernardo Licinio*. He is known by frescoes in the Montereale Chapel in the Cathedral of Pordenone, dated 1555.

Among the imitators, if not scholars, of *Pordenone*, and among those painters of the March of Treviso influenced by *Giorgione*, we may include *Girolamo da Treviso*, not to be confounded with the master of the same name already noticed.* He was the younger son and pupil of the before-mentioned painter *Pier Maria Pennachi*, and was born in 1497. His works are rare, and are chiefly in fresco. He executed for Sabba da Castiglione a large votive wall-painting of the Virgin and Child enthroned, with Saints, in the church of the Commenda at Faenza. Sabba himself kneels before the Virgin, presented to her by his patron Saint. A variety of scientific instruments, in allusion to his studies, appear below the figure of the Magdalen. They are very carefully drawn and painted. He was much employed for churches in

* Page 282.

Bologna. His most successful works there are the frescoes in the chapel of S. Antonio in the church of S. Petronio, in *grisaille*. There is a fine portrait by him in the Colonna Gallery, Rome, and an altar-piece, one of his most important pictures—the Madonna and Child enthroned, with Saints and donor—in the National Gallery, formerly in the church of S. Domenico, Bologna.*

Girolamo came to England, and, taking service as an Engineer under Henry VIII., was killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Boulogne in 1544.

CHAPTER XXII.

LATER SCHOOL OF VENICE CONTINUED.

AMONG the scholars, and, at one period of his career, imitators of *Giorgione*, must be included *Tiziano Vecellio*, or, as he is better known to the English reader, *Titian*.† To that great painter *Titian* owed his artistic development, but in the multifariousness of his powers he takes precedence of all other painters of his school; indeed, there is scarcely a form of art which, in his long and very active life, he did not enrich. But, as we have already remarked, those tendencies which influenced art and life in Venice were materially different from those which governed the so-called Roman school. *Titian*'s greatness, therefore, is not to be found in the same department with that of *Michael Angelo* and *Raphael*. Large symbolical compositions, full of allusions adapted to church history, were not his object;

* "The head of St. Paul is apparently copied from *Raphael*'s picture of St. Cecilia in Bologna. In the types of other figures, in the colouring, and in the landscape, we perceive the influence of *Dosso Dossi* and of *Garofalo*." Dr. Richter's 'Notes on Vasari's Lives,' p. 204.

† For the life of *Titian*, see the exhaustive work of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Life and Times of Titian,' Murray, 1881, and for the best critical remarks on his works, Morelli's 'Italian Masters,' etc., *passim*. For *Titian* as a landscape painter, see 'Cadore or Titian's Country,' by Gilbert. Murray, 1869.

he aimed neither at strictness of expression, nor at forcible development of form, nor even, directly, at ideal beauty, though all these qualities were within his grasp. Nevertheless, those excellences which, from his first to his last picture, he sought to attain and often did attain in the highest perfection, were not less high and infinite in nature than those of the other great masters. The austere and glowing force of *Giorgione* resolves itself in *Titian* into a free and serene beauty—a pleasing and noble idea of nature. All that has been said of the Venetian tendency applies with peculiar force to *Titian*. The beings he creates seem to have a high consciousness and calm enjoyment of existence. An harmonious sense of dignified well-being, removed from the accidents of common life, which may be compared to the principles which governed the antique, characterizes them all. Hence the grateful and elevating impression they produce on the spectator, though presenting nothing more than a transcript of familiar and well-known objects, or representations of beautiful forms, without reference to theological or supernatural meanings. It is life in its fullest power—the glorification of earthly existence, the liberation of art from the bonds of ecclesiastical dogmas.*

That which distinguishes *Titian* from *Correggio*, with whom in other respects he stood in obvious congeniality, is the totally different aim which respectively actuated them. Each is in love with life, but *Correggio* seeks animation and excitement, *Titian* reposes in quiet dignity. *Correggio* calls his figures into being only to make them the organs of particular emotions. *Titian* gives them, first and foremost, the grandeur of calm and satisfied existence. *Correggio*, in the warmth of his passion, has hardly patience to proceed to the development of fine forms, and therefore carries with him a modern air. *Titian* always builds on the immovable foundation of abstract and general beauty. Finally, *Correggio*'s chiaroscuro is something conditional and

* "The elevated style of *Titian*'s colour, which may be said to be on a level with the generalized forms of the antique, perhaps harmonizes best with subjects of beauty; but when united with the simplicity of composition and sedateness of expression, for which he is remarkable, it often confers a character of grandeur even on religious subjects."—C. L. E.

accidental—a phenomenon on the surface of objects. *Titian*'s colouring is the expression of life itself.

Titian was born in grand Alpine scenery, amidst a sturdy and vigorous race; and it is in the combination of these antecedents with the gorgeous colour and stately forms of Venetian life that we trace that breadth of qualities, so conducive to the development of art, in which he takes precedence before every other painter. Where else do we find that sense of nature's wildest scenes and moods—mountain and crag, sky and storm—united with the forms of the noblest thought, sweetest beauty, and richest accessories of human intelligence and culture? If *Titian* did not aim at the loftiest pinnacles of spiritual expression and grace, he, at all events, was the first to throw open a larger territory for human sympathy and enjoyment. Two forms of nature especially courted his pencil—Landscape and Portraiture; and in each he has revealed to the world treasures of truth and poetry not worked out before.* For *Titian* is not only the painter of humanity in its larger distinctions—in the beauty of woman, the dignity of man, and the artlessness of childhood—but he is especially the delineator of all three under every aspect of the high-born and the affluently-placed classes of society. Sir Joshua Reynolds says of him that whatever he touched, however naturally mean or habitually familiar, by a kind of magic he invested it with grandeur and importance.† The intellectual, the noble, and the splendid—the well-formed, the well-fed, and the well-dressed—were the natural subjects of his art; he scarcely turned the other side of the shield to view. His saints, accordingly, of Christ, of John the Baptist, and of the Magdalen — characters in whom the pride of life and the abnegation of self are incompatible qualities—though the first is rendered benign, the second stern, and the third in tears, cannot satisfy those who look for the realization of a sacred idea. *Titian*, therefore, can hardly rank as a painter of religious feeling, except, as we shall see, in his earliest

* See 'Cadore, or Titian's Country,' by Gilbert; especially a chapter on the pathos of landscape nature, at the end.

† Discourse xi.

works when he was still under the influence of *Giorgione*. In scenes of pomp and magnificence—all made up of earthly incidents but accepted by the Roman Church as the appointed representations of heavenly pageants—he stands triumphant.

Titian was descended from an ancient family of the name of Guecello or Vecelli, established in the Valley of Cadore, a part of the Tyrol which belonged to the Venetian Republic. One of his ancestors had been, in 1321, Podesta, or Mayor, of Cadore, and the family had produced more than one lawyer of note, and other local celebrities. He was the son of Gregorio di Conte Vecelli, and was born about the year 1477 at Pieve, the principal place in the district, in one of the most beautiful valleys of the Dolomite Alps.* Of his early history little authentic is known—such incidents as are recorded of it are mostly founded upon tradition, to which no value can be attached.† He is said to have shown extraordinary precocity as a child, and so decided an inclination for painting that his father took him at the age of nine or ten years old to Venice to be instructed in the art. According to Vasari, he was first a pupil of *Giovanni Bellini*, and subsequently became an imitator of *Giorgione*. Dolce, who wrote his 'Dialogo' in the sixteenth century, states that he was, in the first instance, placed with *Zuccato*, better known as a worker in mosaic than as a painter; that he passed into the studio of *Gentile Bellini*, which he subsequently left for that of the master's brother *Giovanni;* and ended by becoming the pupil and partner of *Giorgione*. Some writers on art trace in his earliest works the influence of *Giovanni Bellini*, others deny that any such influence can be seen in them.‡ All are, however,

* The date of 1477 is now generally accepted as that of *Titian*'s birth.

† The fabrication of stories to suit particular characters, so usual in lives of the Italian painters, has not been wanting in *Titian*'s case. A Madonna and Child, with another child kneeling, who has been supposed to be the boy *Titian* himself, exists in a house at Cadore next that believed to have been the scene of his birth, and is traditionally reported to have been painted by the young boy with the juices of flowers. It is of later date, and by an unskilful hand.

‡ Among the former are Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, in their 'Life and Times of Titian;' among the latter Signor Morelli, who questions whether *Titian* was at any time in *Giovanni Bellini*'s studio. 'Italian Masters,' &c., p. 41, &c.

agreed in recognising in them an undoubted imitation, both in colour and in sentiment, of *Giorgione*, and the first authentic record preserved of *Titian* relates to his employment with that master, apparently in a subordinate capacity, in decorating with frescoes the exterior of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi at Venice.* The two young artists were nearly of the same age; but it is evident that the development of the genius of *Giorgione* had been more rapid than that of *Titian*, and that the proficiency he had acquired in the art qualified him to be the master of the latter. There is so striking a resemblance between their works in the early period of *Titian*'s career that they have constantly been confounded, and it is only modern criticism that has enabled us to distinguish between the two. Moreover, it is known that on the death of *Giorgione*, *Titian* was employed to complete the works that the master had left unfinished.† During the early period of his residence at Venice, *Titian* may possibly have been occupied with other studies than painting, as we know that he received a learned education, was taught Latin and Greek, and was acquainted with the classics. He may consequently have become associated with *Giorgione* when that painter, although young, had already attained to extraordinary proficiency in his art, and was capable of giving the best instruction to his pupil.

Let us now mention a few of the early works of *Titian* which have a decided Giorgionesque character, both in colour and sentiment. It will be remarked that they are exclusively of a religious character, and are treated after the manner of the Venetian masters of the transition period from the end of the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century. More than one of them are in Venice. In the church of S. Rocco is a panel, in very bad condition, representing Christ bearing the Cross, and three other

* Of these frescoes only one figure, as we have stated (ante, p. 557, note), doubtfully attributed to *Titian*, and facing the Grand Canal, has been preserved. The few fragments that remained of those on the side canal were destroyed in 1884.

† The 'Anonimo' mentions two—the Venus, now in the Dresden Gallery already described, and an 'Entombment,' which has disappeared. Signor Frizzoni's ed., pp. 169 and 218.

figures—the executioner and two spectators. This picture was, at one time, an object of veneration from the miracle-working power which it was believed to possess. It has been alternately ascribed to *Giorgione* and *Titian*, but is now generally admitted to be by the latter.* The 'Man of Sorrows,' in the Scuola di S. Rocco, has been similarly assigned to both painters, but is now recognised as a work of *Titian*. In the church of SS. Ermagora e Fortunato, more generally known as S. Marcuola, is an early picture by him—the Infant Christ standing on a pedestal and bearing a globe, between SS. Andrew and Catherine—a work of rare beauty, but unfortunately in a very damaged state. The figure of St. Catherine recalls the S. Barbara of *Palma Vecchio* before mentioned, and it is not improbable that the same model sat to the three contemporary painters—*Giorgione*, *Titian* and *Palma*. The colour and treatment is altogether Giorgionesque.† Another early picture by *Titian*, which shows the unmistakable influence of *Giorgione*, is the fine altar-piece in the sacristy of the church of the Salute, representing St. Mark enthroned, with St. Sebastian and St. Roch, of the greatest richness of colour and nobility of conception.‡ Other early works by him showing the same influence are—a Madonna and Child in the Vienna Gallery; the beautiful picture in the Madrid Gallery of the Virgin and Child between St. Bridget and her husband St. Ulfus, still attributed in the catalogue to *Giorgione* (see woodcut); the allegorical figure of 'Vanity' in the Munich Gallery (No. 470), formerly assigned to the same master; and the picture in the Bridgewater collection attributed to *Palma Vecchio*—but now rightly described as a youthful work by *Titian*. The striking, but much damaged picture, known as 'The Concert' in the Pitti, as we have already observed, is more characteristic in feeling and treatment of *Titian* than of

* Morelli, p. 171, note. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Life of Titian' vol. i. p. 60.

† Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle refuse to recognise in this picture a work by *Titian*. 'Life of Titian,' vol. ii. p. 432. Signor Morelli believes it to be one of his earliest works. 'Italian Masters,' p 43, note.

‡ This fine work has unfortunately recently passed through the hands of the restorer, and has not gained by the process.

Giorgione, to whom it is ascribed. A very beautiful but over-cleaned picture in the Doria Gallery (Rome)—'Herodias' Daughter with the Head of the Baptist'—attributed to the same master, is unquestionably an early work by *Titian*.

In addition to the influence of *Giorgione*, that of *Palma Vecchio* has been traced in the earlier works of *Titian*—it has already been suggested that the three painters may have employed the same model—but it appears more probable that it was *Titian* who influenced his younger contemporary.*

Among other pictures which may be attributed to *Titian* in the early part of his career, before his powers were fully developed, may be mentioned a Madonna with Angels in the Uffizi; the 'Visitation' in the Venice Academy, almost entirely repainted—the head of St. Joseph being a modern restoration, the original having been cut out and stolen; and the strictly naturalistic, but exquisitely beautiful, 'Vierge au lapin,' and a very noble representation of the Virgin with three saints, both in the Louvre. The celebrated 'Christ with the Tribute Money,' in the Dresden Gallery, is also probably an early work of the master. The head of the Saviour is finely executed and delicately coloured, but is, in expression, too cold and commonplace to merit the stereotyped praise bestowed upon it.† An 'Annunciation' in the Cathedral of Treviso is believed to represent *Titian*'s middle period. It is on panel and rich in colour, with the arms and initials of the donor (one Murchiostro) on the base of a column in the distance.

No chronological arrangement of *Titian*'s works is for the present possible, except such as is afforded by internal evidence. We will therefore take them rather in classes of subjects. To the first class belong his gorgeous church

* See the question fully discussed by Signor Morelli ('Italian Masters in German Galleries,' p. 24, etc.). He believes that it was *Titian* who influenced *Palma Vecchio*, and not *Palma Vecchio*, *Titian*. The contrary opinion is founded upon a date on a picture by the former, which is now admitted to be a forgery. (See ante, p. 563.)

† Signor Morelli (p. 171), on the other hand, says of it: "I do not know any other picture of *Titian*'s that is executed with so much care and love as this noble and profoundly conceived head of Christ." Professor Thausing in his 'Life of Albert Dürer,' p. 355 (English trans.) maintains that *Titian* was inspired in it by that great German painter.

pictures. Foremost among them is the great 'Assumption of the Virgin,' removed from the church of S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari to the Venice Academy, in which every condition of his art has been so applied as to give distinctness, dignity, and a kind of sacred poetry to the representation.* The Madonna here stands, full front—a splendid type of a woman—enlarged to greater conspicuousness by the grand flutter of her blue mantle, as she is borne straight and rapidly upwards. To her at once the eye is directed, not only from her central position, but from the gestures of the Apostles gathered below, who, with uplifted heads and arms, carry the eye irresistibly to the object of their gaze. The boy-angels who accompany her on each side are the *ne plus ultra* of infantine beauty in form and action, while the little floating creatures under her feet are too few to interfere with the sense of the divine agency which impels her upwards. Above is an angel, already of a different sphere—suspended like a floating pennon—eagerly darting forward, as if by an act of volition, with a crown. The figure of the Almighty, to whom the Angel brings the crown about to be placed on the Madonna's head, though ample in idea and boundless in self-sustaining power, is reduced by the aid of perspective to little more than a narrow line, in which all the difficulties of celestial forms and features are lost.

Another great work is the glorious picture still in the church of the Frari with Saints adoring the enthroned Madonna and Child, and members of the Pesaro family beneath. *Titian* was engaged for seven years on this great work, which he brought to completion in May, 1526. It is a specimen of a family group of high birth and aristocratic forms, occupied in the performance of a solemn function, and elevated, by the presence of the divine and sainted personages, into the rank of sacred art, which belongs to a class of works carried to

* The injury and neglect this marvellous picture had suffered in the keeping of the priests protected it from the rapacity of the French. The lower part was literally burnt with candles, and the whole so blackened with smoke, that the French commissioners did not think it worth the transport to Paris. It continued in this state till 1815, when, all danger being over, Count Cicognara drew attention to *Titian*'s masterpiece, which was then cleaned and restored.

their highest development by the master. Here are all his favourite materials—the stately kneeling figures in black and red robes; the beautiful boy's head behind; the gorgeous unfurled banner held by St. George; the luminous steps on which St. Peter is seated; the fine architecture; and the unfailing cherub holding the cross above.* The Cornaro Family, belonging to the Duke of Northumberland, may be cited as another instance of a family portrait in the form of religious art.

Again, the celebrated picture of the Entombment, in the Louvre, still showing the influence of *Giorgione*, is an instance of the manner in which all subjects ministered to his favourite forms of dignity and tranquillity. The grief of such noble beings as support the half-concealed body of the Lord is one of the most dignified and impressive things in this world. In *Titian*'s hands this is turned to highest account. There is something that hushes remark in the subdued earnestness of those occupied in conveying the dead Saviour. But, though all intent on the sacred object they bear, the fact of their bearing it is a fiction. Such strength and strain as would actually have been needed would have overturned all the gravity which was *Titian*'s chief aim, and the cloth by which they sustain the great weight of a well-developed body is not even drawn tight beneath their grasp.

One instance, almost a solitary one, where the character of the subject did not permit the union of that dignified composure which underlies *Titian*'s art, may be quoted. This is the 'Christ crowned with Thorns,' in the Louvre, in which, in the traditional and stereotyped form, rude figures with long staves press down the thorns upon His head. Here, in the absence of that spiritual superiority to all earthly things which lay not within *Titian*'s sphere, there was no resource but to give the natural expression of pain and distress. Accordingly the picture, though unsurpassed in colour, is peculiarly unattractive in the expression and action of the Christ.

* This superb picture, like that in the Salute, has recently been subjected to the fatal process of restoration, by which the rich yet sober harmony of the colours has been seriously affected. It had already been in the restorer's hands on many occasions.

ST. PETER MARTYR; by Titian, formerly in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice

Still, no one more completely mastered, when he saw occasion, the sudden and violent actions of the human form. This was seen in one of those works of high art the destruction of which the world has most reason to lament—namely, the 'Peter Martyr' (see woodcut), formerly in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (Venice), which perished by fire in the sacristy of that church in 1866. That picture combined his greatest qualities as a figure and landscape painter. The furious spring of the murderer has overthrown his victim, on whose robe his foot is so planted as to prevent the Saint from rising. The action of the terrified attendant friar, as he flings himself forward to escape, is unequalled in impetuosity, and may be taken as an instance of a certain imitation of *Michael Angelo*, traceable in some of *Titian's* works at his most vigorous period; and seen again in a minor degree in his 'Bacchus and Ariadne.' The little angels with the palm of martyrdom above, to whom the Saint lifts his dying gaze, were the perfection of colour and grace. This work may be quoted as the culminating example of the union of subject and accessories—the deed of violence aptly enframed in a scene of forest loneliness, and in an atmosphere of solemn and declining light.

A fourth instance of a subject, which, though entirely legendary in character, serves merely as an occasion for the display of his fascinating conception of grand and artless nature, is the large and much restored picture of the 'Presentation of the Virgin,' in the Venice Academy. Nothing can be more naïve than the contrast between the grave greybeards and stately beautiful women, assembled in a crowd below, who look on with wonderment at the pretty child, holding up her little blue garment daintily with one hand, as—like a royal heir, no ways disconcerted by her conspicuous position—she ascends alone the steps of the Temple, at the top of which the High Priest, attended by a Levite, stands ready to receive her. Windows and balconies are full of spectators, while alone on the right hand sits an old woman selling eggs, and looking on at the tumult with evident curiosity. An example of the grandeur and dignity with which *Titian* could invest any subject which he undertook to represent is

furnished by the altar-piece, in S. Giovanni Elemosinario (Venice), in which St. John the Almsgiver, Bishop and Patriarch of Alexandria, is seen giving his purse to a half-clothed beggar kneeling at his feet.

As a specimen of grandeur in a single figure may be instanced the 'St. Jerome,' in the Brera; one of the maturest efforts of his brush, where the splendid treatment of the wild landscape, in which the half-nude old man is the solitary habitant, has a solemn weirdness of effect unequalled in art. To the study of this picture and of the 'Entombment' may be traced some of Vandyke's highest aspirations. Another work of this class is the 'Baptist' in the Venice Academy, painted when he was nearly eighty years old—a magnificent Italian Brigand, standing in a mountain glen near a stream, the water breaking, white and sparkling, over its rocky bed—the whole a marvel of colour.

No man ever entered the domain of fable with such luxuriance of imagination and consistency of conception as in *Titian*'s picture of 'Bacchus and Ariadne,' in the National Gallery. The creation of this composition may be said to make a third with that of Shakspeare's 'Midsummer Night's Dream' and Milton's 'Comus'; each given in their own proper language. Here the beauty of the landscape—the heat of the atmosphere—the ardent action of the young god, leaping, with fluttering red robe, and one foot suspended in air, from his leopard-drawn chariot—the headlong flight of Ariadne—the rabble rout, infant fauns, drunken old satyrs, lovely women "dropping odours, dropping wine"—with clustering vine, tambourine, barking dog, &c.—all this forms a whole, so perfect in itself, that the mind consents to its reality as to that of an historical picture. This is one of four pictures painted by the master, in 1514, for Duke Alfonso of Ferrara. Two others are in the Gallery at Madrid—the 'Sacrifice to the Goddess of Fertility' and the 'Bacchanal.' On the right hand in the first picture is a statue of the Goddess, with beautiful women making offerings; while the whole centre is occupied by a swarm of children and Cupids, in every form of frolic and sport, plucking fruits and pelting each other. "Nothing can be

more adapted than this picture for the study of *Titian*'s delicacies in colour, in the distinction by half-tints and half-shadows of so many similar forms and complexions."*

The third, called also 'Ariadne deserted by Theseus,' represents a party of youths and maidens, chiefly undraped, revelling in the open air—drinking, singing and dancing in groups. The only Academic figure is a Bacchante sleeping, all flushed with wine, in the foreground. In the background is the blue sea, on which is seen the white sail of the ship which bears away Theseus. This picture has still a gorgeous glow of colour, although it is not so well preserved as the one previously described.

The fourth and last of the series is the 'Feast of the Gods,' commenced by *Giovanni Bellini* and completed by *Titian*, with a landscape and castle evidently borrowed from his native Cadore—now in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland (see p. 313).† A copy supposed to be by *Poussin* is in the Edinburgh National Gallery.

Of the same class of mythological subjects are the 'Diana and Actæon,' and 'Diana and Calisto,' in the Bridgewater Gallery, finished when he was eighty-two years of age. Here the juxtaposition of beautiful nude female forms, with marble basin, architecture, landscape, and distant mountains, shows *Titian* in his most enchanting combinations. The 'Diana and Actæon' is of great beauty. The same compositions in the Madrid Gallery, on a smaller scale, are dull and heavy in colour, and, although attributed to the master, may be copies by a Spanish artist. Even finer than these two pictures is the celebrated 'Jupiter and Antiope,' long known as 'the Venus of the Pardo,' in the Louvre—one of the painter's masterpieces, and not inferior to the 'Bacchanals.' The composition, colour, and distant landscape are all of the utmost perfection.‡

* Memorandum by Sir Charles Eastlake.

† It is very doubtful whether this picture is one of the series referred to in the text. The four were copied by *Titian*'s clever imitator, *Varotari* (*Padovanino*), and the copies are now in the Bergamo Gallery They do not include the 'Feast of the Gods.' The fourth is another Bacchanalian scene.

‡ Unfortunately much injured "by fire, travels, cleaning, and restoring." Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Life of Titian,' vol. ii. p. 317. This beautiful picture was given by Philip IV. to our Charles I.

Of a different class of idylic feeling, unsurpassed in completeness of poetic fancy, is the picture of 'The Three Ages,' also in the Bridgewater Gallery. A youth and a maiden — she playing the lute — sit in the foreground; children, undisturbed by a Cupid, sleep in the middle distance; and, further from the eye, an old man contemplates two skulls on the ground. That calm sense of existence which is so principal a feature in *Titian*'s creations, is nowhere more exquisitely given than in the young couple in front. There is no playing at Shepherd and Shepherdess, nor at Cupid and Psyche—they are simply youth and maiden—the one nude, and the other in beautifully coloured dress, but all unconscious of the anomaly, and knowing nothing more than that it is a pleasure to breathe such an atmosphere, side by side. In this picture we again trace the influence of *Giorgione* upon *Titian*, not only in the colour, but in the conception of his subject. A similar influence is seen in a work of the same class—the so-called 'Sacred and Profane Love,' in the Borghese Gallery, Rome—one of the most beautiful and fascinating of *Titian*'s productions.

It would have been strange if the Goddess of Beauty herself had not claimed the tribute of *Titian*'s brush. He has represented her in various forms, most of them frequently repeated. In the Bridgewater Gallery is the 'Venus à la Coquille,' from the Orleans Gallery—a single nude figure of beautiful form, but without the purity of Greek art, rising from the sea and drying her hair, a shell floating near her. There are two representations in the Uffizi of a nude female, assumed to be Venus, lying on a couch. The finest of the two (No. 1117 in the Tribune) was painted for Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, and is an idealised portrait of the Duchess, who is again recognised in the so-called 'Bella di Tiziano.' *Titian*, as already observed, took the subject, and almost copied the figure from *Giorgione*'s exquisite picture now in the Dresden Gallery (see p. 554). Among others of the same class which he painted are two in the Madrid Gallery, in which he has introduced a gaily-dressed cavalier, seated at the feet of the naked

figure, and playing on an organ,* but turning round to contemplate her charms. They were probably painted for some young Venetian patricians who wished their mistresses to be so represented, with their own portraits. Similar subjects are to be seen in other collections—mostly copies. Repetitions of the 'Venus and Adonis' in the National Gallery are at Madrid and in the collection of Lord Wemyss (London), each claiming to be the original.

With *Titian* also commenced that form of fancy female portrait which, under various disguises, afforded opportunity for the delineation of youth and beauty. Of this class is the so-called 'Daughter of Titian,' carrying, with both arms uplifted, either a plate of fruit or a casket above her head. The best is supposed to be the girl carrying fruit, in the Berlin Museum. In Madrid the beautiful maiden is converted into a Salome, bearing the head of John the Baptist on a charger. The original of these pictures was long supposed to be Violante, the daughter of *Palma Vecchio* and the mistress of *Titian*. But it has been seen that *Palma* had no legitimate daughter,† and that the beautiful woman in question was probably a favourite model. Of his own daughter Lavinia, *Titian* appears to have painted several portraits. According to Signor Morelli there are four in German Galleries—one as a girl of about fourteen, dressed in white, and leading a boy by the hand, in his celebrated 'Ecce Homo' in the Vienna Gallery; a second, when she was eleven or twelve years older, in which she holds in her hand the fan carried by Venetian brides, and appears as a lovely young woman with fair hair, also dressed in white, in the Dresden Gallery (No. 255); a third in the same collection, representing her at about the age of forty, after she had lost her good looks (he must have been above ninety years of

* It is doubtful whether both these pictures are by *Titian* himself. One of them is supposed, but without any authority, to represent the Princess of Eboli, with Philip II., whose mistress she is said to have been. But it is now proved that no such relation existed between them (see Muro's life of the Princess of Eboli); nor are there any grounds whatever for believing that these are their portraits.

† Ante, p. 567.

age when he painted it); and lastly her idealised portrait (No. 166) in the Berlin Museum.*

A beautiful woman, with a male figure holding two mirrors behind her, is sometimes called 'Titian and his Mistress,' but is supposed to represent Alfonso of Ferrara and Laura de' Dianti.† The original of this often-repeated subject is in the Louvre, where, however, the male figure bears no likeness to the great master. Other grandly-treated, stately impersonations of beauty are the so-called 'Bella di Tiziano,' but known as the portrait of the Duchess of Urbino, in the Pitti;‡ the 'Flora'—a lovely woman with flowing hair, and white, delicate under-garment, holding flowers, in the Uffizi; and the splendid portrait of the daughter of Roberto Strozzi, now in the Berlin Gallery. In such figures, *Titian* so fills his canvas with the qualities of light, breadth, and colour, that though conveying no elevation of character, or depth of expression, beyond serene or, as in other examples, haughty beauty, the eye asks for no more. It follows that when *Titian* grapples with particular and individual characters he imparts to them a simplicity of high breeding, an ease and grandeur—in short, a noble appropriateness—which place him foremost in the ranks of the true portrait-painter. His male portraits are too numerous to particularize. The following may be mentioned among the finest and most perfect of his works of this class. The Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, in an Hungarian dress, the Poet Aretino, and a full-length of Philip II. of Spain, in the Pitti Palace. A similar portrait of Philip in the Naples Gallery. Full-length portraits of Charles V., with a dog, and of Philip II. in armour at Madrid; and a half-length portrait of the latter king in the Corsini Gallery (Rome). Francesco della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, clad in magnificent armour, and his wife, in middle age, but with remains of her early beauty, in the Uffizi. The Venetian Patrician, Giorgio Cornaro, at Castle Howard. The marvellous portrait of Paul III., the noblest

* Morelli, p. 177.

† It is thus named in the last Catalogue of the Louvre Picture Gallery.

‡ The picture with a similar title in the Sciarra Palace (Rome) is by *Palma Vecchio*. A copy of it by *Teniers* at Blenheim is rightly stated to be from the original by this master.

CHARLES THE FIFTH ON THE FIELD OF MUHLBERG

by Titian in the Madrid Gallery

type of feebleness of body and strength of character, of which so many repetitions and copies of different sizes exist, in the Hermitage Gallery; and the same Pope with his two nephews (unfinished) in the Naples Museum. Highest of all as a delineation of character, which no historian can surpass, is the portrait of the Emperor Charles V. on horseback at the battle of Muhlberg, in the Madrid Gallery (see woodcut). This is perhaps the most remarkable picture existing of any individual, for here *Titian* has sounded a greater depth of individual expression than any other of his works exhibits. It is said that Charles V. objected to sit for his portrait, or even to be steadily looked at, but that he made exception in *Titian*'s favour. However this may have been, it is evident that we have here the impression on a great painter's mind of a grand, mournful, solitary, and inflexible ruler, satiated with power, and disappointed with all things. The Emperor is represented in armour, with couched lance, on a black Flanders horse, with red saddle-cloth, in full action. The pale, emotionless face, with its powerful jaw, is seen in profile—the impersonation of a spirit of Bigotry and Despotism, of strength and will, rather than that of a living man—and doomed to ride on, trampling all before him, till he reaches that distant monastery where he ended his days. However injured, this picture can never lose its solemn, weird effect. Almost as fine for expression and delineation of character is the much-injured and repainted picture in the Munich Gallery, representing Charles seated in his arm-chair, with a wan and melancholy face and evidently in ill-health. It was probably painted shortly after the equestrian portrait just described.*

Titian often painted his own portrait. Three are known—one in the Vienna Picture Gallery, as a youth (destroyed by repaints and restorations); a second in the Berlin Museum, in middle age; and a third at Madrid, when an old man.†

* The battle of Muhlberg was fought in 1547. The picture in the Munich Gallery, if the date inscribed upon it be genuine, was painted in 1548, at Augsburg.

† Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Life of Titian,' vol. ii. p. 60.

Titian also appears as a painter in fresco, and as an imitator of *Giorgione* in this department of his art, in two religious buildings at Padua—the Scuola del Santo and the Scuola del Carmine. In the first, in legendary tales connected with St. Anthony, he is seen in three subjects—a jealous man killing his wife, a little child miraculously testifying to the innocence of his mother, and St. Anthony restoring a youth's broken leg.* In the Scuola del Carmine, in the History of the Virgin, the beautiful picture of Joachim and Anna, with a glorious landscape, is by him, but has been fatally repainted. He also painted in fresco a colossal figure of St. Christopher bearing the Infant Christ, with a view of Venice in the background, over the door of the stairs leading from the private apartments of the Doge in the Ducal Palace to the Council Hall. It is still fairly preserved, having been saved from "restoration," and is freely and vigorously executed.†

In his treatment of landscape *Titian* may be said to have completed the development of a school introduced by *Giorgione*, and subsequently taken up by the *Carracci* and *Domenichino*, and so transmitted to *Claude* and *Poussin*. In his landscape backgrounds all the conventionalism, both of the early Netherland masters ‡ and of his Italian precursors, disappears, and in every respect they stand on a level with

* These frescoes have been recently repainted and greatly injured by a so-called restorer. Copies have been made of them for the Arundel Society.

† There is a well-known superstition prevalent in Roman Catholic countries that he who sees St. Christopher the first thing in the morning, will not die on that day. Hence the Saint's image is so placed that the Doge would behold it on leaving the room in which he had slept.

‡ "Landscape-painting in Italy, however independent in its perfection, appears in its origin to have been indebted, in more than one instance, to a German influence. Vasari distinctly says that *Titian* kept some German landscape-painters in his house, and studied with them for some months. In Bologna it is probable that *Denys Calvart*, a Flemish artist, first excited the emulation of the *Carracci*, *Domenichino*, and others, who, in the end, formed so distinguished a school of landscape-painters. In both these instances a certain resemblance to the German manner, however differently modified by the character of the schools, is to be recognised, especially in the umbellated treatment of the foliage."—C. L. E. But the earlier Italian painters, such as *Benozzo Gozzoli*, *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo*, *Pinturicchio* and especially *Lorenzo Costa*, who are distinguished for their landscapes, appear to have owed nothing to the Flemings.

the maturity and poetry of his figure subjects. Not that his landscapes partake of the same calm and serenity. Here and there, as in his 'Diana and Actæon,' in Bridgewater House, a mountain distance is seen, bathed in all the tints of the rainbow; or the background consists of rich wood and homely hamlet or farmhouse, as in the exquisite 'Christ and the Magdalen,' and 'Holy Family with St. Catherine,' in the National Gallery; but oftener he revels in grand and sterile peaks, taken from the Dolomite forms of the Friuli hills, with a gloomy stormy sky, and watery slanting lights, of a sublimity of treatment in which he stands alone. In only one picture that we know—namely, the grand upright landscape in Buckingham Palace—has he confined himself to landscape alone, independent of all figures, except those of cattle. But it is certain that in several—as for example the 'Preaching of John the Baptist,' in Devonshire House—the figures are only the pretext for a richly poetical landscape with wild, mountainous forms.

Titian painted into extreme old age, and indeed is believed not to have ceased wielding the brush till his death. His figures in his latest works lose their decision and correctness, but his lights still play round them, and his colours do not fade. There are beauties still in his 'Annunciation' and 'Transfiguration,' in S. Salvatore at Venice. In the picture of the 'Scourging of Christ,' in the Munich Gallery, painted when he was ninety, he still handles the brush with firmness and freedom. In the Allegory in the Madrid Gallery, representing Philip II. offering his son to Victory after the battle of Lepanto, painted when he was believed to be ninety-four (from a sketch by *Sanchez Coello*, a Spanish painter), the flying figure is absurd, but the armour and purple-lake drapery are still Titianesque.

Titian lived to the great age of ninety-nine years, and died of the plague on the 27th August, 1576, when engaged on his last work, the 'Pietà,' afterwards finished by *Palma Giovane*, and now in the Venice Academy. No painter had achieved greater success, and was more highly esteemed during his lifetime. He lived in habits of intimacy with the poets and philosophers of his day, with Ariosto at

Ferrara, with Pietro Aretino at Venice. Princes and nobles honoured him as the first of portrait-painters. Pope Paul III. invited him to Rome. It was said that Charles V., after he first saw the works of *Titian*, refused to sit to any other master. The Emperor constantly employed him, and twice the painter was obliged to attend him at Augsburg. He was created a Knight of the Golden Spur, and a Count of the Lateran Palace, of the Aulic Council, and of the Consistory, with the title of 'Count Palatine,' and his children were raised to the rank of Nobles of the Empire, with all the honours appertaining to families which could trace four generations of ancestors.*

Titian's works may, perhaps, be best studied in the Gallery of Madrid, which contains no less than forty-two pictures attributed to him, extending from the earliest to the latest period of his career.

This great painter formed very few scholars, but had many imitators. They endeavoured to adopt his style; and if they have left no work of the highest rank, they were, at least, preserved from the errors of mannerism by following nature in the path to which they were guided by him. Among these imitators are many artists of his own family. By *Francesco Vecellio*, his brother, there is a clever altar-picture in the Berlin Museum. His favourite son *Orazio Vecellio* imitated his manner with more or less success. By *Marco Vecellio*, his nephew and the faithful companion of his journeys, there are some tolerably good works in the Ducal Palace, and in S. Giovanni Elemosinario (Venice), and to him has been attributed the fine portrait of a violoncello player in the Spada Gallery at Rome. And lastly, his cousin *Cesare Vecellio*, a painter of considerable skill, accompanied the master to Augsburg in 1548, and appears to have assisted him in many of his works. Pictures by *Cesare* in various collections are attributed to *Titian*.† *Santo Zago* and *Girolamo di Tiziano*, properly speaking *Girolamo Dante*, are also good copyists of the master.

* For these and other honours and privileges conferred upon *Titian*, see his Life by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i. p. 371.

† See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Life of Titian,' vol. ii. p. 487, etc.

Polidoro Lanzani, called *Polidoro Veneziano*, was a feeble imitator of *Titian*, whose works, nevertheless, frequently pass under the great painter's name—as a Madonna with Saints and donor in the Cassel Gallery. Two of his best are in the Dresden Gallery—a 'Venetian Patrician dedicating his child to the Virgin,' and a 'Marriage of St. Catherine.'

Andrea Meldola, called lo *Schiavone* (the Sclavonian), from his birth-place, Sebenico in Dalmatia, is a good imitator of *Giorgione*, to whom his works are frequently attributed, and of *Titian*. A beautiful 'Adoration of the Shepherds' by him is in the Vienna Picture Gallery; an excellent 'Madonna with Angels' (whole-length figures) in the Venice Academy; 'the Murder of Abel,' a piece of fine foreshortening, with a beautiful wooded landscape, in the Pitti Palace. Four landscapes by him of rich golden tones are in Hampton Court Palace; and a 'Dead Christ supported by Angels, with Joseph of Arimathea' (life-size figures), is in Stafford House, London. His colouring is fine, but his heads are generally unmeaning, and his forms careless and undecided. A 'Christ before Pilate,' in the Naples Gallery, ascribed to *Schiavone*, is full of the defects we have mentioned; the head of Pilate is, however, admirable.

Domenico Campagnola was one of the most successful imitators of *Titian*, especially in his drawings. Many fine studies and sketches of landscape by him in the Louvre, in the British Museum, and elsewhere, are still attributed to *Titian*, and are not unworthy of his hand.* He is known to have worked conjointly with that master in the Scuola del Santo at Padua.

Paris Bordone was born at Treviso in 1500, and died at Venice in 1570. Though Venetian in education, this fine painter took a path peculiar to himself, and it is only a very inexperienced eye that can mistake him for *Giorgione* or *Titian*. He is remarkable for a delicate rosy colour in his flesh, and for the purple, crimson, and shot tints of his draperies, which are usually in small and crumpled folds. His *chef-d'œuvre* in the Venetian Academy—the 'Fisherman

* Morelli, 'Italian Masters in German Galleries,' pp. 196 and 222, note.

presenting St. Mark's ring to the Doge,' who sits in full conclave, a large picture, with numerous figures and fine architecture (see illustration), may be justly termed one of the most fascinating works existing.* 'The Emperor Augustus and the Sibyl,' also in the Venice Academy, is another splendid work. His Holy Families are not very frequent. One of great charm—the 'Madonna and Child, with SS. Francis and Jerome,' signed 'Paris Bordonus Tarvisius'—is in the collection of Prince Giovanelli (Venice); another, much injured, is in the Brignole Sala Palace (Genoa); and a third, finer than either, in the Tadini collection at Lovere. He deals frequently in mythological or poetic subjects, such as Mars, Venus, and Cupid, in the Doria Palace; Daphnis and Chloe, half-lengths, in the National Gallery, etc.; and in every form of a single female figure—Judith; a lady at her toilette, etc.—in which a beautiful woman can be introduced. He is seen in great perfection in female portraits, and one in the National Gallery—a lovely woman of the Brignole family, aged nineteen—may be taken as a type of a class of his works found in most large galleries. In the palace formerly belonging to that family, and now public property, in Genoa, are portraits of a bearded man, in black dress and brilliant red sleeves, holding a letter, his elbow resting on the table, and of a lady in gold brocade, with rose-coloured sleeves, holding in her right hand a handkerchief and in her left a book, both very striking works. Two pictures, each representing a beautiful woman, and each ascribed to *Giorgione*—the one at Lord Enfield's, Wrotham, the other at Lord Radnor's, Longford Castle—are both by *Paris Bordone*. The 'Centurion begging Christ to heal his servant'—with life-size figures—in Lord Bute's gallery, is a fine example of the master. He excelled both in landscape and architecture, as may be seen in a 'Repose in Egypt,' in Bridgewater House; an 'Annunciation,' in the Siena Gallery, and the above mentioned picture in the Venice Academy.

* This picture is the sequel to St. Mark allaying the storm which has already been mentioned, p. 557, as having been probably commenced by *Giorgione*, and finished by *P. Bordone*. The incident to which it refers in the traditionary history of Venice is well known.

ST. HERMAN PRESENTING ST. MARK'S RING TO THE DOGE.

by Paris Bordone, Venice Academy.

THE ENTOMBMENT: probably by Lanzani in the Monte di Pietà at Treviso.

Francesco de Dominicis, or *Caprioli*, also a native of Treviso, was the only known pupil of *Paris Bordone*, though not recalling the manner of his master, but rather that of *Giorgione*. He is seen in a signed portrait of himself, larger than life, in the collection of the late Edward Cheney, Esq.,* and in a picture in the Giovanelli Palace at Venice.

We conclude this account of the Venetian artists who flourished toward the middle of the sixteenth century with *Bastista Franco, il Semolei*, who studied in Rome, and is classed among the imitators of *Michael Angelo*. In the small number of his works existing in Venice, he appears as an eclectic painter, combining the style then prevailing at Rome with that of Venice. He is very pleasing in small decorations in the compartments of ceilings, as in the Scala d'Oro of the Palace of the Doge, and in a chapel of S. Francesco della Vigna, at Venice. In larger works (the most important are in this same chapel) he is more mannered.

The school of Venice continued to flourish, and to retain a real and vital originality, for a much longer period than any other school in Italy. This superiority is to be attributed on the one hand to certain favourable external circumstances, and on the other to the healthful principle of the school, viz., the study and imitation of nature. It cannot be said that the artists of the second half of the century, whom we now proceed to consider, equalled in their collective excellence the great masters of the first half, but in single instances they are frequently entitled to rank beside them.

At the head of them is *Jacopo Robusti*, surnamed, from his father's trade, *il Tintoretto*, the dyer (b. 1519–d. 1594). He was one of the most vigorous painters found in the history of art; one who sought rather than avoided the greatest difficulties, and who possessed a true feeling for animation

* There are copies of this portrait on a smaller scale in the Munich Gallery, and in other collections. Signor Morelli says that *Caprioli* formed himself upon the works both of *Giorgione* and *Palma Vecchio*. 'Italian Masters,' etc., p. 55. The 'Entombment,' in the Monte di Pietà at Treviso (see woodcut), which has been attributed to *Giorgione* and to *Pordenone*, may be by *Caprioli*.

and grandeur. If his works do not always please, it must be imputed to the foreign and non-Venetian element which he adopted, but never completely mastered, and to the times in which he lived. In our next chapter we shall say more on this head: here it is sufficient to remark that Venetian art had fallen into the mistaken path of colossal and rapid productiveness, and that *Tintoretto* was the painter who paid the greatest penalty for this taste. His off-hand style, as we may call it, is, it is true, always full of grand and meaning detail. With a few patches of colour he expresses sometimes the liveliest forms and expressions; but he fails in that artistic arrangement of the whole, and in that nobility of "motives" in parts, which are necessary exponents of a high idea. His compositions are not expressed by finely studied degrees of participation in the principal action, but by great masses of light and shade. Attitudes and movement are taken immediately from common life, not chosen from the best models. With *Titian* the highest idea of earthly happiness in existence is expressed by beauty; with *Tintoretto* in mere animal strength, sometimes of a very rude character.*

The manner in which *Tintoretto* formed his peculiar style resulted from the reproach at that time cast upon the Venetian school. He was for a short time in the studio of *Titian*, but not continuing on good terms with his master, he soon quitted him, in order to follow a path of study of his own. In the painting-room which he occupied in his youth he is said to have inscribed, as a definition of the style he professed, "The drawing of *Michael Angelo*, the colouring of

* The remarks in the text upon *Tintoretto* have been retained, although they do scant justice to that great master, whose works are now better known and more fully understood and appreciated in England, principally through the eloquent writings of Mr. Ruskin. It may be asserted with confidence that no painter has excelled him in nobility and grandeur of conception, and few in poetic intention. If in the execution of the gigantic works which he undertook, he is at times hasty and careless, at others he shows himself a master of technical execution. In the painting of flesh he is almost unequalled; and one of the most competent of critics, the late Mr. Kirkup, himself an accomplished painter, was wont to point to the 'Cupid born of Venus and Vulcan' in the Pitti, as the most perfect representation of the human flesh which the art of painting has produced.

Titian." He copied the works of the latter, and designed from casts of Florentine sculpture and from the antique, particularly by lamplight, in order to exercise himself in a more forcible style of relief. He also made models which he lighted artificially, or which he hung up in his room, for the purpose of mastering the perspective appearances, so little studied by the Venetians. By these means he united great strength of shadow with the Venetian colouring, which gives a peculiar character to his pictures, and is very successful when limited to the direct imitation of nature. But setting aside the possibility of combining two such totally different excellences as the colouring of *Titian* and the drawing of *Michael Angelo*, it appears that *Tintoretto*'s acquaintance with the works of the last-named master only developed his tendency to a naturalistic style. That which with *Michael Angelo* was the symbol of a higher power in Nature, was adopted by *Tintoretto* in its literal form. *Michael Angelo* made use of nude figures in his Last Judgment to express his original and poetic thoughts with abstract largeness; *Tintoretto* introduces them as mere idle accompaniments for the sake of their fine muscular drawing or foreshortening. The works, even of his better time, are generally slight in treatment; later they became unmeaning in invention, and coarse and mechanical in execution. Added to this, a premature darkening of the colours, owing to his using a darkly coloured canvas, has lowered most of his tones.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that *Tintoretto*'s portraits should belong to the better class of his works. Here his conception is grand, his colour golden, and generally combined with a purer and more careful execution. Grand male portraits by him are in the Pitti and Uffizi galleries, in the Venice Academy, and at Vienna. Among the best examples may be mentioned that of a youth reading, and of an aged man in the Colonna Palace at Rome; one in the Cassel Gallery; and a young man of the Durazzo family, in the Durazzo Palace at Genoa. Several of first rate quality are in English galleries; among them two youthful Dukes of Ferrara, with a servant and a page, offering up their devotions in a church, in the collection at Castle Howard.

Next to his portraits in interest are his historical pictures (chiefly dating from his earlier time) in which he has introduced a rich poetical landscape. A 'Sacrifice of Isaac,' and a 'Temptation of Christ,' of this class, are at Castle Howard; a 'Party of Musicians,' in Stafford House (London); and 'Esther before Ahasuerus,' at Hampton Court. Altogether the earlier pictures by *Tintoretto* are not only more glowing in colour, but of a finer and more naïve composition; for instance, 'Cupid born of Vulcan and Venus,' in the Pitti Palace;* the 'Adam and Eve,' and 'Death of Abel,' in the Venice Academy; the beautiful and well-known 'Bacchus and Ariadne,' in the Doge's Palace; and 'St. George destroying the Dragon,' in the National Gallery. The same remarks apply to his sacred subjects—such as the 'Birth of the Virgin,' with a glory of Angels above, in the sacristy of S. Zaccaria, and an altar-piece with the Madonna and Saints and kneeling Senators, in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (Venice); the St. Helena with the Cross, three Saints and two kneeling donors, in the Brera—one of his best works; a spiritedly conceived 'Adoration of the Shepherds,' at Castle Howard, and a fine Entombment of Christ, in the Bridgewater Gallery. Among his most celebrated and powerful pictures is the 'Miracle of St. Mark,' who appears descending from heaven, to rescue a tortured slave from the hands of the heathen, in the Academy at Venice †—a work of skilful foreshortening and splendid colour, containing some grand portrait heads (see illustration). Excellent pictures by him are in the Dresden and Madrid Galleries. The building belonging to the Brotherhood, or Scuola, of San Rocco at Venice, is a perfect gallery of *Tintoretto*'s works. It contains no less than fifty-seven large productions by this astonishing painter, mostly with figures of life-size. They have been shamefully neglected, are covered with the dust and dirt of two centuries, and some of them are almost falling from their frames. Moreover, so little light penetrates into the three halls for which they were painted, that it is only on rare

* See note page 612.

† A powerful sketch for this work, formerly in Mr. Roger's collection, is now in the possession of the Baroness Burdett Coutts.

THE MIRACLE OF ST. MARK, by Tintoretto, Venice Academy.

occasions that they can be properly seen. The finest of the series, and perhaps the most perfect work of the master which represents the History of Our Lord, is the vast canvas with the Crucifixion, painted in 1565—a grand and imposing composition, containing many varied incidents, and contrived with infinite skill. The manner in which *Tintoretto* concentrates the interest of the scene on the principal figure—that of Christ on the Cross—is a striking instance of his genius. The group of the fainting Virgin and the three Maries in the foreground is full of the deepest and most natural sentiment. Some of the heads, such as that of the Roman Centurion to the right of the spectator—no doubt portraits—are truly noble. Although time and neglect have dimmed the original brilliancy of the colour, it is still rich and harmonious when seen with a good light. The Saviour clad in white, standing before Pilate, is a solemn, impressive and original treatment of the subject, as is Christ with the two thieves on the road to Calvary.* In the Library of the Royal Palace at Venice, are two remarkable pictures by the master representing miracles of St. Mark—one, the removal of his bones from Alexandria during a storm, which leaves the relics untouched though raging around them; the other, the rescue of a young man from shipwreck by the Saint's agency.

The Palace of the Doge possesses a large number of his works, among them his well-known 'Paradiso,' eighty-four feet long and thirty-four feet high—the largest picture in existence, and, like almost all *Tintoretto*'s works, painted in oil.† It is in the Hall of the Grand Council, and contains an innumerable crowd of human figures; each group apparently alike distant from the eye, and therefore alike indistinct. Many of the figures, however, display much

* Photographs from copies of the last two subjects have been published by the Arundel Society.

† Boschini ('Ricche Minere, etc.,' ed. 1674) mentions some frescoes by *Tintoretto* of considerable extent in the Campo de' Gesuiti; others at the Serviti; others on a house in the Sestiere del Castello, all of which have disappeared. Some existing in the last century on the exterior of the Palazzo Gussoni are engraved by Zanetti. ('Varie Pitture in fresco, etc.' Ven. 1760.)

skill; those of Christ and the Virgin are fine and dignified. The same composition on a small scale by the master, and believed to be a study for the great picture, is in the Louvre, and a second bought by *Velasquez* at Venice for Philip IV. during his second journey to Italy (1648–51) is in the Madrid Gallery. Four mythological pictures, among them the 'Bacchus and Ariadne' already mentioned, are in the chamber of the Anti-collegio in the Ducal Palace. The 'Marriage at Cana,' in the Sacristy of the Salute (Venice), is a work of magnificent effect, in which the master has introduced many graceful female figures, and some grand male heads. It is one of the few pictures which he signed. *Tintoretto*'s portrait by his own hand is in the Louvre.

In the vast works which he undertook and executed *Tintoretto* must have received considerable assistance; no one man could have produced so much alone. But of those who aided him little or nothing is known. Among his scholars and imitators, his son *Domenico Tintoretto* * and *Jacob Rottenhammer*, a German, may be honourably mentioned. Another of his scholars, *Antonio Vasilacchi*, called *Aliense*, and, judging from his name, of Greek origin, transplanted the style of the master to the quiet city of Perugia, where he executed ten large wall-pictures for the church of S. Pietro.

Domenico Theotocopulo, called *Il Greco*, from the country of his birth, also studied in the school of *Tintoretto*, to whom pictures by him are not unfrequently attributed—as a fine portrait of a man in armour in the Madrid Gallery (No. 421). He was an original and eccentric painter, though showing himself, at his best, an artist of considerable powers. He is generally to be recognised by his ashy-grey colouring, and by bad and extravagant drawing, which render his works very unattractive. They are principally to be found in Spain, where he passed the greater part of his life. His best is one representing the burial of the Count of Orgaz, in the church of S. Tomé at Toledo. There is

* He had also a daughter named *Marietta*, who was a painter.

a St. Jerome, or a Cardinal, by him in the National Gallery.*

Paolo Caliari, or *Cagliari*, known as *Paul Veronese*, was born at Verona in 1528, and died in Venice in 1588. He is said to have derived instruction from his father, *Gabriele Cagliari*, a sculptor, as well as from his uncle *Antonio Badile*, already noticed,† but no doubt studied, and was influenced by, the works of *Giovanni Carotto*, *Domenico Brusasorci*, and other distinguished painters who then flourished in Verona. He found no favour at first in his native city, where he painted in the church of S. Fermo; he therefore proceeded to Mantua, whence he passed in 1555 to Venice.

He did not equal *Titian* in the perfection of his flesh tones, but by splendour of colour, assisted by rich draperies and other materials, by a very clear and transparent treatment of the shadows, by comprehensive keeping and harmony, *Paolo* infused a magic into his pictures, by which he surpasses almost every other master of the Venetian school, but showing to the last in his pictures his early Veronese training. Never was the pomp of colour so exalted as in his works, which may be likened to concerts of enchanting music. This, his peculiar quality, is most grandly developed in scenes of wordly splendour. He loved to paint festive subjects for the refectories of rich convents, suggested of course from particular passages in the Scriptures, but treated with the greatest latitude, especially as regards the costume, which is always that of the artist's time. In these and similar examples we have the most gorgeous display of grand architecture, of splendid gold and silver vases and utensils, and the most brilliant costumes; above all, he presents us with a powerful and noble race of human beings, elate with the consciousness of existence, and in full enjoyment of all that renders earth attractive. That which distinguishes *Paul Veronese* from

* The Spaniards claim *Titian* for the instructor of *Il Greco* (see Catalogue of the Museum of the Prado by Don Pedro de Madrazo, 1872, p. 117), but there is nothing in his manner to recall that master.

† See p. 273.

Tintoretto, and which, in his later period, after the death of *Titian* and *Michael Angelo*, earned for him the rank of the first living master, although Vasari writes somewhat disparagingly of him,* was the vitality and poetic feeling which, as far as it was possible, he infused into a declining period of art. At the same time he adopted in many respects the naturalistic tendencies with which he was surrounded, so that his compositions may be occasionally said to run wild.† The beauty of his figures is more addressed to the senses than to the soul, though even the most superficial of his innumerable works have a feeling for grace and a plenitude of life which at that time had entirely departed from the other schools. In his later works, however, his colouring is sallow and negative, and rendered even inharmonious by the introduction of a fiery red.

Little is known of *Paul Veronese's* life except that he once journeyed to Rome in the suite of the Venetian Ambassador, Grimani. Otherwise Venice seems to have been his principal residence, where he produced those numerous grand dramatic compositions which give an air of Italian splendour to every gallery they adorn. *Titian* is said to have done justice to the powers of this great painter, and to have recommended him to assist in the renewal of the decorations of the Great Council Hall in the Ducal Palace, all of which had been destroyed in the fire often alluded to in 1579. Here he so distinguished himself that the Senate rewarded him with a gold chain.

His next great work was on the ceiling of the sacristy of S. Sebastiano, which led to a commission from the monks to undertake the decorations of the entire church, within the walls of which he ultimately found sepulture. No juster idea of the power and versatility of the master's hand can be gathered than in the numerous works that adorn the walls

* Vasari only says of him "Oggi lavora in Venezia, ed e tenuto buon maestro." Sansoni's 'Vasari,' vol. v., p. 290.

† He was accustomed to introduce such irreverent details, as dwarfs, Swiss Guards, and dogs, monkeys and other animals into his scripture subjects, and for so doing was summoned before the Inquisition and severely reprimanded. For the amusing details of his examination, see Yriarte. 'La vie d'un Patricien de Venise au 16e siècle.

ST. SEBASTIAN GOING TO MARTYRDOM. By Paul Veronese, Church of S. Sebastiano, Venice.

and altars of this church; we can only mention the three large pictures, illustrating the History of St. Sebastian, executed between 1560 and 65. The finest of these, representing the Saint going to martyrdom, belongs to the latter year. The scene is laid upon a flight of steps before a building. St. Sebastian, a fine, powerful figure, is hastening down them, while at the same time he turns to his fellow-sufferers Marcus and Marcellinus, who follow him bound, and points towards heaven with an inspired look. One of them is gazing on him with the profoundest faith, the other is looking round at his sorrowing mother, who seeks to turn him from his purpose with her entreaties and reproaches. On the right a grey-headed father is ascending the steps, led by youths; women and children also endeavour to intercept the martyrs, who continue the path that leads to death with the noblest tranquillity. Numerous figures are seen on balustrades and roofs, clinging to pillars, and crowded on the stairs, looking on in the greatest excitement. This picture displays a beauty of composition, a richness, without a redundance, of subject, and a power of expression and colour which in some respects entitles it to be considered the noblest of *Paul Veronese*'s works (see illustration). The two other pictures represent St. Sebastian pierced with arrows, and stretched upon the rack. The first is of the finest invention and execution. The saint, bound to a column, is looking longingly towards heaven, where the Madonna appears accompanied by angels; next the saint are two splendid female figures, also praying to the heavenly vision; farther below are three kneeling saints who regard the martyr with looks of astonishment. In the last picture it was not possible for the painter to idealize the horror of the scene, so that, in spite of its masterly conception, it does not stand comparison with the other two. The large shutters of the organ, painted about 1560, contain, on the outer side, a beautiful representation of the Temple; on the inner side the miracle of the pool of Bethesda—the last again one of the most admirable of the master's productions. The lame and sick, seated along an arcade, are connected with the utmost skill in one group. An old man

upon crutches is pointing with eager gestures to Christ, who has just healed a cripple by the power of his word; behind, the Apostles are helping others of the healed out of the water. Among the ceiling pictures of this church the crowning of Esther by Ahasuerus is the best. Unhappily these splendid works have suffered irretrievably by restorations.

Paul Veronese is also seen in numerous works of various periods, and of the finest quality, in the Venice Academy. Further, in Venice, the church of S. Francesco della Vigna contains a choice specimen in an altar-piece of the 'Madonna and Child with Saints,' which is also interesting as being of that latest style of arrangement subsequently adopted in the Netherlandish school; and the 'Marriage of St. Catherine,' in the church dedicated to that Saint, is one of his most enchanting works. In his native Verona, in the church of S. Giorgio Maggiore, there is a Martyrdom of that Saint by him, a fine composition, but of unequal execution, the lower part being inferior to the upper. In the refectory of the suppressed Convent of Monte Bérico, near Vicenza, is still preserved his great picture of the 'Supper of St. Gregory the Great,' which, although cut to pieces by the Austrians in the war of 1848, and subsequently pieced together, still retains much of its original grandeur. The Brera is rich in his works. Among them may be specially mentioned three male Saints and a Priest, who is reading from a church volume, supported by a graceful boy by way of lectern—a picture of peculiar splendour and originality. The Turin Gallery also possesses some of his masterpieces. Nor is he less fully and worthily represented in galleries to the North of the Alps—in Vienna, in Munich, and especially in Dresden. In the Louvre are a number of his works—both large and small—among them the 'Marriage at Cana,' one of his largest productions, of which we shall speak further, and the 'Pilgrims at Emmaus,' one of his most interesting. In the latter the painter has introduced a family, supposed to be his own, with an exquisite group of two girls in the centre caressing a large dog. The Hermitage at St. Petersburg also contains several of his works,

including a *chef-d'œuvre*—the 'Entombment'; and the Madrid Gallery is rich in them. Lastly, the National Gallery boasts his grandest and most intact work—the 'Family of Darius before Alexander'—originally painted for the Pisani family and preserved in one of their Palaces at Venice until purchased in 1857 by the British Government. This picture is in itself a school of art, where every quality of the master is seen in perfection—his stately male figures, his beautiful women, his noble dog, and even his favourite monkey, his splendid architecture, gem-like colour, tones of gold and silver, sparkling and crisp touch, marvellous facility of hand and unrivalled power of composition.

As an example of *Paul Veronese*'s poetical treatment of classical subjects, the 'Rape of Europa,' with a beautiful landscape, in the Doge's Palace, may be particularly mentioned. It is a delightful and justly admired composition; but unfortunately, like all the other pictures in that magnificent building, it has passed through the hands of more than one "restorer," and the original splendour and harmony of its colour have been dimmed.

Paul Veronese's great reputation rests, however, principally on his generally colossal representations of festive meetings.* The most celebrated of these pictures is the 'Marriage at Cana,' in the Louvre, and formerly in the refectory of the Convent of S. Giorgio Maggiore at Venice —thirty feet wide by twenty feet high. The scene is a brilliant atrium, surrounded by majestic pillars. The tables at which the guests are seated form three sides of a parallelogram. The guests are supposed to be almost entirely contemporary portraits, so that the figures of Christ and the Virgin, of themselves sufficiently insignificant, entirely sink in comparison. Servants with splendid vases are seen in the foreground, with people looking on from raised balustrades, and from the loggie and roofs of distant houses. The most remarkable feature is a group of musicians, in the centre in front, round a table; also portraits—*Paul Veronese*

* Such pictures—the Last Supper, the Marriage at Cana, the Pilgrims at Emmaus, etc.—as already stated, usually occupied the upper end of the refectory in convents.

himself is playing the violoncello, *Tintoretto* a similar instrument, the grey-haired *Titian*, in a red damask robe, the contra-bass. Another somewhat smaller representation of the same subject, full of new and spirited "motives," is in the Brera at Milan; a third in the Dresden Gallery. Comparable in size and richness, but not in excellence, with the picture in the Louvre, we may mention the 'Feast of the Levite,' in the Academy at Venice (formerly in the refectory of SS. Giovanni e Paolo). This is also a gigantic composition. An airy arcade, through which buildings are seen, divides the whole into three groups. The chief incident is also made subordinate here, while on the other hand we have a number of the most charming episodes: the halberdiers hastily swallowing down their portion of the feast upon the stairs; the majordomo speaking with a Moorish servant; a dog watching a cat, etc.* 'Christ at the table of Simon the Publican,' with the Magdalen washing His feet—another scarcely less gigantic picture, in the Louvre—is much simpler in arrangement than other works of this order, and is distinguished by fine heads, and especially by a very noble Christ. Another representation of this subject is in the Brera, at Milan; a third, in the Marcello-Durazzo Palace, at Genoa. He often painted the 'Supper at Emmaus.' There is an example in the Louvre and another in the Dresden Gallery. After the master's death his heirs finished several festive pictures of this kind from his designs, though of course they are deficient in that fulness of life which forms the pervading character of his original works. A somewhat empty 'Pharisee's Feast' of this kind is in the Venice Academy.

Paul Veronese was an excellent painter in fresco, showing complete mastery over the technical process, and infusing into his works in that material the exquisite grace and poetical fancy that distinguish his best pictures in oil. Some of his most beautiful wall-paintings, in which he

* This is the picture (see note, p. 618) which exposed *Paul Veronese* to the censure of the Inquisition; the Inquisitors being especially scandalised at the introduction of Swiss Guards, who were presumed to be Protestants, and at a Disciple picking his teeth with a fork.

represented allegorical and mythological subjects, are to be seen in the Villa Maser, an ancient residence of the patrician family of Barbaro not far from Treviso. Among them are single figures so grandly conceived as not to be unworthy of *Michael Angelo*. He also painted house-fronts in Venice, but no traces of them now remain.* He has left but few portraits, but they are of great merit. One picture containing half-lengths of Alessandro Alberti and his son, is in the Palazzo Torrigiani at Florence, with the painter's signature and the date of 1557. It is a fine work, and curious in the history of the master as not showing strong signs of his manner. A splendid full-length of a warrior in rich armour, painted in 1556, is in the picture gallery at Verona. Another of a man in green, is in the Colonna Palace, at Rome.

With the exception of a picture in the Vienna Gallery, and one in the church of S. Sebastiano at Venice, it would be difficult to mention a simple Madonna and Child by *Paul Veronese*. He seemed to need a larger field than such a form of art afforded. Among his small pictures the 'Family of Cain,' in the Madrid Gallery, may be noticed. The wife of Cain, with her child, looking up appealingly to her husband, is exquisitely beautiful in sentiment, the colouring more like that of *Titian*, to whom the picture was long ascribed.

His scholars and the imitators of his manner are very inferior to him. Among them are his brother *Benedetto Cagliari*, and his sons *Carletto* and *Gabriele*. The works of *Carletto* frequently pass under the name of his father—as the small but striking picture of the 'Finding of Moses,' in the Madrid Gallery. Other imitators were his nephew *Benfatto*, called *dal Friso*, his relative *Maffeo Verona*, and *Gian Battista Zelotti*, the last a painter of higher merit, by whom there is a 'Presentation in the Temple,' in the Berlin Museum, and who was largely employed in decorating the exterior of palaces at Venice. Some of his best decorative works are in the Villa Emo at Fansolo near Castelfranco.

* For such as remained in the last century, see Zanetti's 'Varie pitture,' etc.

While the application of the Venetian principle—the imitation of Nature—had given so peculiar a direction to *Paul Veronese*'s style, it was to be expected that some painters would seek to render Nature, even in her commonest aspects, and that *genre*, as it is called, would also be cultivated. This accordingly took place in the school founded by *Francesco da Ponte*, who had probably learnt his art in Vicenza from *Bartolommeo Montagna*, but had settled in the neighbouring town of Bassano, where his family resided and produced several painters who are known as the *Bassani*. Their works may be best studied in the local Museum of their native place, which possesses a picture by *Francesco* dated 1509, with a fine landscape. But the most important master of the school was his son and pupil *Jacopo da Ponte* (b. 1510–d. 1592). He studied the works of *Bonifazio* and *Titian* in Venice, and at first practised in the manner of these masters. He afterwards returned to Bassano, the environs of which appear to have first suggested his particular style of composition. He selected those subjects in which he could most extensively introduce landscape, with the people and accessories of the lower classes of life. These he connected with events either from sacred history or mythology, sometimes treated with sufficient dignity, of which the 'Good Samaritan,' in the National Gallery, is an example. At other times he represented simple scenes of country life—cattle, markets, etc.—without any particular reference to history. Or he would even omit figures altogether, and merely introduce buildings, with animals, instruments of agriculture, kitchen utensils, and still life. The works of *Jacopo da Ponte* have often a solemnity of low tones in landscape and sky which are very attractive. His conception of landscape stands in a position both interesting and characteristic toward that of his Venetian predecessors. *Giovanni Bellini* places his figures in the crystal air of an Italian morning; *Titian* and *Tintoretto* give us daylight, mighty while subdued; but *Bassano* throws a lucid grey over his landscape, and carries the eye to the solemn twilight spread along the distant horizon. This peculiarity of feature is partly accounted for by the

position of the town of Bassano, which is wrapped in an early twilight by the high mountains above it on the west. The manufacture of copper vessels at Bassano, which are placed out in the principal street, also gives a clue to the frequent introduction of these utensils in his pictures, where the brilliancy of their metallic sparkle is especially valuable. They serve also to assist in hiding the feet of his figures, for which feature *Jacopo Bassano* and his school seem to have had no aptitude.

The play of light is one of the attractions in the art of this master; his colours are also gem-like, especially his greens, where he exhibits a brilliancy peculiar to himself. Occasionally also he is seen in silvery tones of great charm. His lights are boldly impinged on the objects, and are seldom introduced except on prominent parts of figures, on the shoulders, knees, elbows, *&c.* In accordance with this treatment, his handling is spirited and peculiar, somewhat in the manner of *Rembrandt;* and what, on close inspection, appears confused, forms at a distance the very strength and magic of his colouring.

In his native town are two of his finest works—'St. Martin dividing his Cloak with the Beggar,' and the 'Baptism of St. Lucilla'; the first in the Municipal Gallery, the last in the church of S. Valentino—a noble work, which gives a very high idea of the power of the master. A 'Repose in Egypt' is in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. But his more customary subjects are those which permit of various animals, implements, and other objects of still life; such as the Nativity, Christ driving the Money-changers from the Temple, the Four Seasons, &c. Favourite figures are often repeated, his heads are taken from a few ever-recurring models, and one of his daughters is at one time the Queen of Sheba, at another a Magdalen, or a peasant girl with poultry.

That, with such fine qualities of art and feeling for Nature, *Jacopo Bassano* should excel in portraits is not surprising, and fine specimens exist in most Italian galleries.

Jacopo had four sons, all painters, of whom *Francesco* and *Leandro* were the most remarkable. One of *Francesco's* best

works is among the ceiling paintings of the Doge's palace at Venice in the Sala dello Scrutinio, representing the taking of Padua by night. An 'Ascension,' over the high altar, in S. Luigi de' Francesi at Rome, is also not without merit. In Venice there is a good picture by *Leandro*, representing the Trinity, in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and one in the Academy, remarkable for its richness and brilliancy of colour—a 'Raising of Lazarus,' in which the figures, though somewhat mechanically arranged, are upon the whole finely painted, and full of expression. It is true the astonishment of the bystanders is directed more to Lazarus than to Christ—a remark which we are the more tempted to make because it applies to many pictures of this later Venetian school. The painters belonging to it, in their great manual skill, and in their reliance on a close imitation of Nature, gradually omitted to give due prominence to those higher allusions which belong to subjects of this class.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CORREGGIO AND HIS SCHOLARS.

ANTONIO ALLEGRI,* surnamed *Correggio*, from his birth-place near Modena, was born in 1494, and died in 1534. He may have learnt the rudiments of his art from his uncle *Lorenzo Allegri*, and from *Antonio Bertolotti;* but his true master was *Francesco Bianchi*, the *Frarré* (or Ferrarese). This painter, as we have seen, was a scholar of *Cosimo Tura*, who, leaving Ferrara, his native city, opened a studio at

* See Gius. Ratti, 'Notizie storiche sincere intorno la vita ed opere di Antonio Allegri da Correggio:' Finale, 1781. Pungileoni, 'Memorie istoriche di Ant. Allegri, detto il Correggio:' Parma, 1817. Outlines in Landon, 'Vies et Œuvres,' etc.; Corrége. See also the German translation of Vasari's 'Lives,' vol. iii. part ii. p. 60. *Correggio*'s poverty had no foundation in fact, and the well-known anecdote of his death, on which Oehlenschläger's play was based, is a fable. Vasari is, however, probably correct in saying that *Correggio* was never in Rome.

VIRGIN AND CHILD. By Correggio, in the Uffizi, Florence.

Modena. It is conjectured that the young *Correggio*, having served out his apprenticeship to *Bianchi*, was sent, when about sixteen years of age, to the joint atelier of *Costa* and *Francia* at Bologna to complete his studies. His earliest pictures—probably painted before he was twenty—show the influence of both these painters, and establish his connection with the Ferrarese school and its branch at Bologna, and indirectly with *Raphael*, who derived his first manner partly from the same source. Signor Morelli, whose views as to the early education of *Correggio* we have adopted, mentions five works by the master of this period, all showing his relation to this school,* viz., a small picture representing the Virgin and Child with SS. Catherine, Anne, Francis and Dominick, formerly in the Costabili Collection at Ferrara, and now in the possession of Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni at Milan, which recalls *Lorenzo Costa* in the modeling of the hands, and *Mazzolino* in the colouring; a Madonna and Child with Angels, in the Uffizi (No. 1002), at one time ascribed in the catalogue to the Ferrarese school, and now to *Titian*—a work of exquisite beauty in colour and sentiment (see illustration): a Virgin and Child with Saints, much painted over, in the public gallery at Pavia, and there attributed to *Francia;* a small Madonna and Child in the Municipal Museum at Milan—the colour rich and glowing, the exaggerated forehead of the child characteristic of *Correggio;* and, lastly, an altar-piece belonging to Lord Ashburton, originally in the church of Correggio, and known as the 'Pala' of St. Martha and the four Saints—a work of the finest expression and deepest colouring, with the characteristics of both *Costa* and *Francia*. It is possible that a little picture of a Holy Family at Hampton Court of much charm may belong to the same period of the artist's career. Signor Morelli further suggests that before settling at Parma, *Correggio* must have been "artistically in-communication" with *Dosso Dossi* and *Garofalo*, and points in support of this view to the well-known early picture by the master —the 'Flight into Egypt'—in the Tribune of the Uffizi, in

* 'Italian Masters in German Galleries,' p. 122, etc.

which he uses a straw-colour, peculiar to those two painters.* Moreover, *Dosso* is said to have painted his portrait.

Having established himself at Parma, *Correggio* became the head of a school, and formed that manner by which he is generally known, and which is called after his name. He is distinguished by a *subjective* mode of conception, of that kind which may perhaps be best defined by the word sensibility, though not to be confounded with the false sensibility, or rather the affectation of that quality, which belongs to a later date. With him it is rather a high-wrought susceptibility, an excitable and ardent nature, which led to the pervading characteristics of his works. These qualities, also, entailed the peculiar treatment and choice of his subjects. In his compositions all is life and motion, and even in devotional subjects painted for altar-pieces, which prescribe a certain earnestness and sobriety, he introduces an element which is always joyous, sometimes even humorous. All his figures express the overflowing consciousness of life, the impulses of love and pleasure. He delights to represent the buoyant glee of childhood—the bliss of earthly, the fervour of heavenly love. Seldom does sorrow intrude into this world of joy, but when it does appear the artist's vivid capacity for the opposite feeling renders it the deeper.

In the works of *Correggio* there is, on the whole, little display of beautiful forms; the movements of his figures, which unceasingly produce the most varied foreshortenings, are obviously opposed to it. *Correggio* was the first who may be said to have warred systematically against all flatness of surface; the play of his light and shade, and the position of his figures, equally assist the appearance of depth in space. So decided is his taste for perspective appearances, that even the Madonna, seated in divine tranquillity on her throne, is represented by him as if seen from underneath, so that, in the drawing, her knees appear almost to touch her breast. But, instead of form, another element of beauty predominates in *Correggio*—that of chiaroscuro, that peculiar play of light and shade which sheds an har-

* There is no reason to believe that this picture is, as it has been asserted, a copy.

monious repose over his works. His command over this element is founded on that delicacy of perception, that quickness of feeling, which is alive to every play of light, and is thus enabled to reproduce it in the form of exquisite modeling. *Correggio* knew how to anatomize light and shade in endless gradation; to give the greatest brilliancy without dazzling, the deepest shade without offending, the eye. The relation of colours is observed with the same masterly skill, so that each appears in itself subdued, yet powerful in relation to others. But while *Correggio* attained one of the highest summits of modern art, it is to be observed, that his peculiar excellence (as in the instance of *Michael Angelo*) led him into many an exaggeration of sentiment, and defect in drawing; though such is the charm of his peculiar qualities, so rare and difficult are they to attain, that criticism is silenced under their magic influence.*

Correggio has been justly admitted as a worthy competitor with his three great contemporaries—*Leonardo*, *Michael Angelo*, and *Raphael*. Not so, however, if the higher elements of beauty and dignity, of ideal grandeur of form and intensity of expression, be pronounced the exclusive objects of art, for in these respects, especially when compared with *Raphael*, he was often deficient or mannered; but granting him to be thus far much inferior to these masters, he must still be considered the creator of a sphere of such power and splendour that no position short of the highest can be assigned to him. He seized upon that niche which, even in so redundantly rich a period of art, was still unoccupied, by venturing to depict, as it were, the very pulses of life in every variety of emotion and excitement; till, in the luxuriance of his ardent representations, the beauties and the faults, the high poetry and the low earthliness of his productions, are indissolubly united.

The earliest work to which *Correggio* has attached his signature is the large altar-piece, now in the Dresden

* See an excellent and characteristic account of *Correggio* by Herr v. Quandt, in his translation of Lanzi's 'History of Painting in Italy,' i. 319, note 36; and some highly interesting observations on his place in art-history, and his artistic relation to the great painters of his time, in Signor Morelli's 'Italian Masters in German Galleries,' p. 124, et seq.

Gallery, painted in 1514–15, when he was about twenty-one years of age, for the Franciscan convent at Carpi. It represents the Madonna enthroned; SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua on her left, and SS. John the Baptist and Catherine on her right. There is more repose and simplicity in this picture than in his later works; and many features in it recall *Costa* and *Francia*—the former in the chiaroscuro medallion on the throne, the latter in the head of St. Catherine. At the same time a certain constraint is apparent, especially in the expressions; while the execution is remarkable for great softness and a peculiar fusion of the tints, which afford sufficient evidence that considerable works had been executed at an earlier period, some of which we have already mentioned. In precocity of excellence *Correggio* surpassed even *Raphael*, who, in his twentieth year, appears much the most constrained in manner.

About the year 1518, *Correggio* was invited to paint a room in the convent of S. Paolo, at Parma* for the abbess. The subjects from ancient mythology, which he executed there, are among his most beautiful works. On the principal wall is Diana returning from the Chase in a car drawn by white stags; the light drapery of the goddess conceals but little of her perfect and youthful form. On the domed ceiling is painted a trellis-work of vines, with sixteen oval openings, in which are charming groups of Cupids, some with the attributes of the chase, such as horns, hounds, and the head of a stag; others playfully caressing each other, or plucking fruits from the borders of the vine. It is impossible to conceive little boy figures more bewitching than these. Lower on the walls are sixteen lunettes in chiaroscuro, filled also with mythical subjects—the Graces, Fortune, the Fates, Satyrs, &c. The choice of these subjects for a convent appears strange; but in the beginning of the sixteenth century the nuns of Italy enjoyed considerable freedom, while the abbess lived in princely splendour and luxury. In 1524, however, the convent of S. Paolo underwent a refor-

* 'Pitture di Ant. Allegri, detto il Correggio, esistenti in Parma nel monastero di S. Paolo:' Parma, 1800. Grandly engraved by *Toschi*.

Portion of Correggio's fresco, THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN, Parma

mation, and these works by *Correggio* were withdrawn from the eyes of the public.

In the year 1520 the decoration of the cupola of the church of S. Giovanni at Parma, was entrusted to *Correggio*, and afforded an opportunity for the formation of a grander style. In the centre of the cupola he represented Christ in glory, suspended in air; the twelve Apostles, rapt in adoring wonder, are seated on the clouds below; and in the four pendentives are the four Evangelists and the four Fathers of the Church. This work exhibits great grandeur of arrangement and detail; it is, moreover, the first remarkable display of his feats of foreshortening. In the tribune behind the altar he also executed a fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin, which however, was barbarously destroyed in 1588, to enlarge the church—the group of Christ and the Madonna, now in the Library at Parma, being the only part preserved. Of the greater portion of the composition a copy, now in the Naples Gallery, had been made by *Annibale* and *Agostino Carracci*, and from this source a repetition of the composition was executed in the new Tribune by one *Cesare Aretusi*.* These works were finished by *Correggio* in 1524.

The peculiar art of *Correggio* was further carried to perfection in the large frescoes in the cupola of the Duomo at Parma, executed between the years 1526 and 1530; the subject being the Assumption of the Virgin.† In the highest part of the cupola, on which the strongest light falls, Christ, a violently foreshortened figure, flings Himself forward to meet the Madonna, who is borne upwards by a crowd of angels, apparently intoxicated with rapture (see woodcut); lower down are saints, male and female, also wonderfully foreshortened. All this occupies but the upper half of the cupola. In the lower part, between the oblong windows, stand the Apostles, some singly, some grouped, gazing after the ascending Madonna; over the windows are boy genii, some of whom

* The two groups of heads and portions of angels, in the National Gallery, are probably by *Annibale Carracci* from this composition.

† Engraved in a series of plates by G. B. Vanni, 1642. The fine engravings by *Toschi* supersede all that has hitherto been copied in this way from *Correggio*.

bear lighted candelabra, others censers. In the four pendentives under the cupola are the four patron-saints of Parma, seated on clouds and accompanied by angels. The whole forms an innumerable host of angels, with saints and other holy personages bathed in light, and animated by one common feeling of what we may call riotous rapture. The effect is, however, almost too rich and confused; all the figures are foreshortened, and, as more limbs than bodies are visible from below, the artist, even in his lifetime, was jestingly told that he had painted a 'hash of frogs' (*guazzetto di rane*).

In 1520 *Correggio* married, and there is reason to believe that the three charming pictures—the one at Naples called 'La Zingarella,' the Madonna wearing an Oriental turban (hence the name) bending over the Child; the Madonna, with a well-known maternal action about to caress the Child lying before her, in the tribune of the Uffizi (see woodcut); and the 'Holy Family,' known as the 'Vierge au Panier,' in the National Gallery, (the last the most perfect, and doubtless the latest)—were suggested by domestic scenes. Another of his most sympathetic and often-repeated pictures, the 'Marriage of St. Catherine,' is also supposed to be connected with a domestic incident,—namely, the marriage of the painter's sister, Caterina Allegri, in 1519, for whom it was painted. The original is in the Louvre. The youthful saint (according to her vision) is betrothed to the divine Infant in the presence of St. Sebastian and the Virgin, who carefully superintends the holy rite.* The scene is expressed with such tender grace that nothing more charming can be conceived. A sense of ecstatic life is diffused over the figures of the Virgin and St. Catherine, and the whole composition is united by perfect harmony of colour. Another small picture of this subject, somewhat differently arranged, is in the Public Gallery at Naples: here the Child, astonished at the strange ceremony, is looking up, laughing, at the Virgin. Other repetitions (some of them probably early copies) are

* The date of this legend as a subject of art may be defined, for St. Catherine of Siena died in the fourteenth century, and was not canonized till 1461. See the 'Acta Sanctorum,' April 30.

MADONNA ADORING THE CHILD, by Correggio
in the Uffizi, Florence

at Petersburg; in the gallery of the Capitol at Rome; and in other places.*

The Gallery of Parma is rich in specimens of the master; among them the following may be mentioned. A fresco of a Madonna and Child, taken from the church of S. Maria della Scala, and executed at the same time as the frescoes of the cupola of S. Giovanni. The Madonna holds the Child in her lap, gazing on him with fervent tenderness, his arms clasped round her neck, as he turns and looks toward the spectator—a work of ineffable grace, tenderness, and dignity. The 'Madonna della Scodella'—the Holy Family resting on the Flight into Egypt—believed to have been finished about 1528. The picture takes its name from the cup which the Virgin holds in her hand; Joseph is bending down the branches of a palm-tree to pluck dates. A riot of infant angels is going on in the clouds above. This entirely realistic composition—the Infant Saviour is dressed like a little Italian boy—though much injured, is still one of the most transparently beautiful of his works. The picture, commonly known as 'il Giorno,' or 'the Day,' is another marvel of force and brilliancy. The Madonna with the Child are near the centre; on the left is St. Jerome, a prominent figure; an angel next him points to a part of the open book held by the saint; on the right kneels Mary Magdalen, who is kissing the foot of the Child; an angel is near her. The pure light of day is diffused over the picture (whence its name); the figures seem surrounded, as it were, by a radiant atmosphere. The Magdalen is equally the perfection of female beauty, and of *Correggio*'s art; other portions are, however, not quite free from affectation.† The 'Pietà' (the body of Christ mourned by the three Marys and St. John), in which the arrangement is simple and grand, and the harmony of light and

* The original picture is believed to have been in the possession of the late General Fabbrizi at Modena. The one in the Naples Gallery is more probably a copy.

† Dr. Burckhardt (Cicerone, p. 175) says of this picture: "The attitude of Jerome is affected and insecure. *Correggio* is never happy in great things: the Child who beckons to the angel turning over the book, and plays with the hair of the Magdalen, is inconceivably ugly, as also the 'Putto,' who smells at the vase of ointment of the Magdalen."

colour most beautiful. Grief is not here depicted in its first overwhelming power, as in other pictures of this subject, but in that weariness and lassitude of spirit when tears have ceased to flow. The 'Martyrdom of SS. Placido and Flavia,' the companion to the last-named work, like it, is distinguished by its simple arrangement and fine expression; both pictures have suffered greatly.

After Parma, the Dresden Gallery contains the richest series of *Correggio*'s works.* The St. Francis has already been mentioned; the others belong to the period when the master's power was most developed. We begin with the so-called 'St. Sebastian.' The Madonna with the Child is enthroned on clouds, surrounded by a circle of extremely graceful infant angels; below are St. Sebastian, St. Geminianus, and St. Roch. The figure of St. Sebastian is one of the most beautiful by *Correggio;* and the picture is thought to represent the most perfect period of the master, but it is greatly repainted, and has lost much of its original splendour. The 'Adoration of the Shepherds' known as 'la Notte,' or 'the Night,' as the picture at Parma is known as 'the Day,' is celebrated for the striking effect of the light, which, in accordance with the legend, proceeds from the new-born babe, who, as well as the Madonna, are lost in the splendour which has guided the steps of the distant shepherds. A young female figure on one side, and a beautiful youth on the other, receive the full light, which seems to dazzle their eyes; while angels, hovering above, appear in a softened radiance. Morning breaks on the horizon. This picture has been stripped of its glazings, and is greatly out of harmony. The 'St. George' represents the Madonna enthroned, between SS. George and Peter Martyr and SS. John the Baptist and Geminianus; boy-angels are naively playing with the armour of St. George in the foreground.† Throughout this picture, which has also greatly

* Compare Hirt, 'Kunstbemerkungen auf einer Reise nach Dresden,' p. 45, etc.

† It is acknowledged that, in the process of foreshortening, *Correggio* was assisted by small models in clay, designed by himself, or by others, and suspended above him. *Raphael Mengs* (see 'Opere de Mengs,' p. 179) remarks that the Amorini mentioned above, playing with the helmet of St. George,

suffered from restoration, the clearest daylight is diffused, as in the 'Giorno,' at Parma.

Signor Morelli was the first critic of authority to call in question the authenticity of the celebrated 'Reading Magdalen,' in the Dresden Gallery, as a work of *Correggio*. He attributes it to some Fleming of the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century, pointing out that the technical treatment, the colours (especially the intense cold blue), the form of the hands, the minuteness of the details, and the foliage, are such as belong to no Italian painter of the sixteenth century, whilst the picture agrees in all these respects, and even to the surface cracks, with the works of *Adrian Van der Werff*. Further, it is painted on copper, a material rarely, if ever, used by an Italian painter of the time of *Correggio*. He believes, therefore, that it may be by *Van der Werff*, or by a contemporary and imitator of that master, and either an original composition, or the copy of some picture of the Bolognese school now lost.* Whether this picture be by *Correggio* or not—and Signor Morelli's objections to its genuineness appear to be unanswerable—it has a charm which attracts the multitude, and few pictures are more admired or more generally known by copies in various forms. The so-called portrait of Correggio's Physician in the same gallery is a much damaged picture, probably by *Dosso Dossi* or one of his school.†

The National Gallery possesses, in addition to the Holy Family ('La Vierge au Panier'), already mentioned, two first-rate and larger specimens of the master—the 'Ecce Homo,' and the 'Education of Cupid.' The 'Ecce Homo,' half-figures as large as life, was hardly before conceived with such intensity of expression, or brought so close to the spectator. The expression and attitude of the Christ are extremely grand; even the deepest grief does not disfigure his

show by the peculiar appearances of cast shadows that they must have been copied from clay models.

* See 'Italian Masters in German Galleries,' p. 129, et seq., where the subject is fully discussed.

† Id. p. 129. Doubts as to the attribution of this picture to *Correggio* had already been expressed by Professor Julius Meyer in his work on that painter.

features. The pathetic action with which he holds forth his hands, which are bound, in itself expresses the depth of suffering. On the left is a Roman soldier, of rude but not otherwise than noble aspect, and evidently touched by pity; on the right, Pilate—a head of marvellous colouring—pointing to the spectator. The Virgin, in front, is fainting, overpowered by her grief, in the arms of the Magdalen: her head is of the highest beauty. The drawing in this picture is more severe than is usual with *Correggio*. The 'Education of Cupid' displays his command over a totally different class of subject. Venus, an undraped and winged figure, stands erect; her beautiful form fully developed. Mercury, as the inventor of letters, seated on the stump of a tree, presents a scroll to the little Cupid before him, who, bending over his lesson, with his back turned to the spectator, is picking out the alphabet with infantine intentness. The background of dark and rich foliage contrasts strongly with the pearly flesh tints, which are rendered with surprising skill.

The 'Christ on the Mount of Olives,' in Apsley House—a picture taken in Joseph Buonaparte's carriage at the battle of Vittoria, returned to the King of Spain, and by him presented to the Duke of Wellington—is another of those works in which *Correggio* stands alone. It would be difficult to cite an instance in which so much mastery of art is contained in so confined a space. Here, as in the 'Notte,' the light proceeds from the Saviour, who kneels at the left of the picture. Thus He and the angel above Him appear in a bright light, while the sleeping disciples, and the soldiers who approach with Judas, are thrown into dark shadow; but it is the "clear obscure" of the coming dawn, and exquisite in colour. The expression of fervent prayer and heavenly resignation in the countenance of Christ is indescribably touching; it is impossible to conceive an expression more deep and fervent.

Among the pictures still in Spain attributed to *Correggio*, 'Christ in the Garden with the Magdalen,' in the Madrid Gallery, is called in the Catalogue a "replica," or copy, of that in the possession of the Duke of Wellington.

Correggio was also famed for a class of pictures taken from

the fables of Leda, Io, Danae, etc., most of which have disappeared from public view. The 'Danae' is, however, still seen in the Borghese Gallery in Rome. She lies half raised on a splendid couch; Love, a beautiful youth, sits beside her and catches the golden rain-drops in her drapery. In front of her couch, two Amorini are employed with graceful *naiveté* in sharpening an arrow, and a third in trying the gold on a touch-stone. The form of Danae is modeled with exquisite softness, but the countenance has not an engaging expression.

Lastly, the 'Jupiter and Antiope,' in the Salon Caré of the Louvre, is the *chef-d'œuvre* of the master in the mythological class. Antiope lies sleeping on the ground in no graceful attitude, but the melting softness of the execution, and especially the luminousness of the flesh, exceed all that human hand ever rendered, and seem to shed light from the picture. A Cupid sleeps, curled up, near her; while Jupiter, as a faun, appears from behind the foliage, gazing upon them. The background is partly formed by a thicket of exquisite depth, sparkle, and richness; while a brilliant portion of sky is just seen above.

Correggio had various scholars and followers, who endeavoured, with more or less success, to acquire his style; and whose works, generally of little merit, may be best studied in the public gallery at Parma; among them are the following:—his son, *Pomponio Allegri*, distinguished by his somewhat simple drawing; *Francesco Maria Rondani*, censured for superfluous and trifling accessories; *Michael Angelo Anselmi*, who was a pupil of *Bazzi* and subsequently an imitator of *Correggio* and by whom there is a very mannered 'Madonna with Saints,' in the Louvre; *Fortunato Gatti*, distinguished for peculiar sweetness of colouring; *Giorgio Gandini*, or *del Grano*; *Giulio Cesare Amidano*; and *Lelio Orsi*, of Novellara, who is considered as the best imitator of *Correggio*.

A much higher reputation was gained by *Francesco Mazzuoli* or *Mazzola* (b. 1505–d. 1540*), surnamed '*Parmigiano*'

* See his genealogical tree in Sansoni's 'Vasari,' vol. v. p. 239.

and '*Parmigianino*,'* son of *Filippo Mazzola* (already mentioned among the earlier masters as a painter of Parma who had studied at Venice under *Giovanni Bellini* and *Antonello da Messina*†); but that reputation dates from a period when the feeling for true artless beauty was nearly extinct. The dangerous tendency of *Correggio*'s style has been already pointed out—a danger which even he has not always escaped: but in *Parmigianino*, especially after he was no longer under that Michael-Angelesque influence which is seen in his earlier works, action and feeling almost always degenerate into affectation and insipid coquetry. This master manages to introduce the air of the fashionable world into his religious pieces. His Madonnas look empty and condescending, and his female Saints give the idea of ladies in waiting. A 'Marriage of St. Catherine,' in the Parma Gallery, has an affinity with some of Reynolds' aristocratic groups, but is of unquestionable grace and beauty. He is the more displeasing from endeavouring to unite with these peculiarities the noble forms of the so-called Roman school, whilst the proportions of his figures are unnaturally lengthened. In spite of this, however, certain indestructible beauties belonging to the master under whom he studied may be perceived clinging to him, such as a frequently clear and warm tone of colour, a great decision in execution, and, when the subject admitted of it, an excellent conception of life. That which, at the period we are describing, misled the descendants of the great masters, was, as we shall have reason to observe, rather a false influence working upon them from without, than any absence of real capacity, so that in certain departments of art where this outward influence did not come into operation, their success was of the highest kind. This was the case with *Parmigianino*, as with many others, in portraits, among which may be especially mentioned a splendid portrait of a Marchese San Vitale, erroneously called that of Columbus, and another, said to be of the painter's mistress, in the Naples Museum;

* P. J. Affo, 'Vita del pittore Francesco Mazzolo, detto il Parmigianino,' Parma, 1874. Outlines in Landon, 'Vies et Œuvres,' etc.; t. Parmigianino.

† See p. 387.

MOSES BREAKING THE TABLES OF THE LAW.
by Parmigianino, Parma.

one of great beauty, known as the 'Sultana,' or the 'Turkish Slave,' in the Baroccio room of the Uffizi; one of Malatesta Baglioni, exceedingly fine, and his own likeness, in the Vienna Gallery; two equally fine in the Madrid Gallery; and lastly that of a young man in the Duke of Sutherland's collection, Stafford House. Here and there we also find a more simple Holy Family. Among his most celebrated yet most disagreeable pictures is the so-called 'Madonna with the long neck,' in the Pitti Palace, and a Madonna with Saints, St. Margaret kneeling in front, in the Gallery at Bologna. On the other hand, a large altar-piece in the National Gallery, representing the Virgin in Clouds and John the Baptist appearing to St. Jerome, is an excellent youthful work of the master. The beautiful head of the Infant Christ is not unworthy even of *Correggio*. It is said that, engrossed in the completion of this picture, in 1527, *Parmigianino* took no note of the siege of Rome then going on, and that the soldiers, intent on pillage, who surprised him at his work, were so overawed with admiration that they protected him against their comrades. He is supposed to have died at Venice at the age of forty by poison administered to him by rival artists; but it is doubtful whether such was the case.* One of *Parmigianino*'s most celebrated works is the 'Moses breaking the tables of the Law' in the church of the Madonna della Steccata at Parma (see woodcut). Sir Joshua Reynolds said of it: "We are at a loss which to admire most—the correctness of drawing or grandeur of conception;" adding that the poet Gray, "when he conceived his sublime idea of the indignant Welsh Bard, acknowledged that, though many years had intervened, he had warmed his imagination with the remembrance of this noble figure." In the same church and in that of S. Giovanni are other frescoes by the master. His cousin *Girolamo di Michele Mazzola* was one of his scholars. Pictures by him and by *Pierilario Mazzola*, another member of the family, are to be seen in the Gallery at Parma.

* Sansoni's 'Vasari,' vol. v. p. 234, note.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE DECLINE OF ART IN ITALY.—THE MANNERISTS.

THE most brilliant period of Italian art, that which embraces the life of *Raphael*, resulted from a combination of numerous influences from within and without, of the most varied kind. To describe the rapid decline and dispersion of the same in all their bearings, would be an historical task of no small extent. We must, therefore, content ourselves with merely giving the necessary heads.

As regards the middle of the sixteenth century, no immediate influence from the great historical events of the time—the Reformation, the great supremacy of Spain, &c.—can be admitted; or, if so, only in a very limited degree. It was not till a later period, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, that these and similar causes began to operate on art. The means of education which existed about the year 1550 differed doubtless in many respects from those of *Raphael*'s time; but the subjects of art and the demand for her productions continued essentially the same—the latter only increasing in amount. Let us rather seek for the causes of change in that necessary condition of all things in this world to rise, flourish, and to decline, from which no period of art is exempt. In that of which we are treating, the decline may be traced in increasing rapidity from about the year 1530; so that most of the scholars of the great masters, indeed some of their own later works, are not exempt from its influence. The following is a *résumé* of the features indicative of this decline, which were common to all the schools; and if we here introduce a number of painters who are known as especial mannerists, it does not at all follow that their works are inferior to many by *Giulio Romano*, and the nearest scholars of *Michael Angelo*.

The decline of art stands in immediate connection with the unrivalled glories of the Raphaelesque period. A climax of excellence was felt to have been attained; and it was now the

general aim to hold fast, if not to surpass, that *effect* in the great works of art which appeared to have earned for their authors their universal reputation. No one remembered that the foundation of all artistic greatness depended on the mysterious harmony between the personality of the painter and his subject. The merely external characteristics of the great masters became, therefore, the objects of imitation; first with due modesty, and then with gradually increasing boldness, till the greatest exaggerations ensued. That which was overlooked was certainly that which was least susceptible of imitation, viz. the deep poetic intention, the noble and harmonious conception, and that arrangement which was dictated by the highest laws. Many of the painters in question would, fifty years earlier, have done great things; they now, for the most part, fell into repulsive mannerism, because no longer supported by those principles of harmony and beauty which, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, had inspired even mediocre talent to noble purposes. Where immediate truth of nature was required—as, for instance, in portraits—great excellence was, however, displayed.

A considerable share of the blame must be imputed to the altered tastes of the patron, and to the consequent change in the external position of the painter. Tempted by the splendid productions of *Raphael*'s time, princes and corporations now thirsted for the possession of vast works of an elevated kind, which thus soon became objects of luxury which every one sought to obtain according to his rank and means. That such luxuries should be sought for also at the least possible expenditure of time or money was also natural; and as in point of allegorical or historical representation a lower order of conception was preferred to what was really fine and elevated, it followed that the superficial and ready-handed painter invariably took precedence of one possessed of higher qualities. It is melancholy to observe how from this time painters and patrons contributed more and more to demoralize each other; the one playing the part of courtiers and *intrigants*, the other that of capricious tyrants. Enormous undertakings were now executed with the greatest rapidity. "We paint," says Vasari, "six pictures in a year

while the earlier masters took six years for one picture "—and how colossal these works were we still see in the Sala Regia in the Vatican, and in the great saloon in the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence; while he naively adds, "And yet our pictures are much more perfectly executed than those of the early school by the most distinguished masters." * According to his letters Vasari seems to have used his hands as actively in his picture of the Sea-fight at Lepanto, as if he had been himself engaged in the contest; and the greater the speed at which he painted the more does he seem convinced of the superiority of his powers. This conviction was shared by most of the popular painters of that time; and if we here and there find cause to admire their works, in spite of the false conditions under which they were produced, it is only a further proof of the greatness of the period which preceded them. That the same corrupt taste which governed the larger and monumental department of art should also extend to the class of easel pictures was inevitable; nay, the union of intrinsic nothingness with a more careful outward execution is still more displeasing in effect, except where a happy turn for natural imitation gave such works a conditional value.

In this part of the history of art a certain general flatness of style, chiefly proceeding from reminiscences of a Michael-Angelesque and Raphaelesque character, makes it difficult to enter into a classification of schools. The venerable *Michael Angelo* himself lived deep into the degenerate period; how he actually viewed it was perhaps unknown to *Vasari*.

In order to do justice to the so-called 'mannerists' we are about to review, we must give a short summary of the fate of the schools which we have already described. Those which fared the worst were the descendants of the early and less developed schools where the influence of the old masters had imperfectly taken root, such as the latest Peruginesque painters, the *Alfani*, *Adone Doni*, and others, whose works, by the union of early and late defects, are sometimes peculiarly unsatisfactory. Parallel with these are certain

* Preface to the third part of the biographies.

Netherlandish artists of the so-called Roman school, who were, for the most part, mere copyists, though, upon the whole, they are not so deficient in external qualities. Then succeed the last followers of *Leonardo* and *Gaudenzio Ferrari* in Milan—*Lanini*, *Lomazzo*, *Figino*, and others, who confined themselves within more modest bounds than the imitators of *Michael Angelo*, but are not the more grateful to the eye. Next come the schools of the scholars of *Raphael*, such as that of *Giulio Romano*, and particularly the Genoese school of *Perino del Vaga*, with the offset of the former at the French court. These ran utterly wild. *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, on the other hand, took refuge in an empty naturalism, though, as regards Naples, this may be said to have contained a germ of future life. The scholars of *Correggio*, not to mention the last dregs of the school of Ferrara, are proverbially known as 'mannerists.' As a relief to this general decay, the school of Venice, with the works of *Paul Veronese* and the better productions of his contemporaries, may be seen enjoying a second youth.

In the Florentine school the imitation of *Michael Angelo* became the first object. But Florence possesses little by *Michael Angelo* if we except his works in sculpture, the greater part of which are not free from exaggeration. These, however, were the works from which the Florentines chiefly studied; seeking to imitate the muscular markings displayed by violent action, without being sufficiently grounded in the necessary anatomical knowledge. Thus they were betrayed into various errors: sometimes marking the muscles with equal force in repose and in action, in delicate and in powerful forms. Satisfied with this supposed grandeur of style, they troubled themselves little about the rest. Many of their pictures consist in a multitude of figures, one over the other, so that it is impossible to say what part of the ground-plan they occupy; figures which tell nothing—half-naked models in academic positions. Heavy colours thinly applied, and defective modeling, supersede also the early intelligent execution. The more important of these artists are:

Giorgio Vasari, of Arezzo (b. 1512–d. 1574), an artist of

versatile talent—historical painter and architect. He superintended several buildings, and directed their embellishments. Florence, Arezzo, Rome, and Naples are full of the works of his flimsy hand. In Rome he took the chief part in the decoration of the already-mentioned Sala Regia in the Vatican, where the Popes gave audience to foreign ambassadors. Here, as in other apartments of this same palace, the triumphs of the Church were the subjects; no longer, however, treated by lofty and moral symbols and allusions, but by direct heavy matter-of-fact representations in large overladen pictures of battles and ceremonies. Instead, therefore, of enumerating the many unsatisfactory colossal pictures by *Vasari*, we may mention his excellent portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici, in the gallery of the Uffizi, at Florence, and that, frequently repeated, of Cosmo I., in the Berlin Museum and other galleries. *Vasari*'s greatest merit, however, consists in his literary labours. His biographical account of the artists published in 1550, and a second improved edition in 1568, was the first important work on the history of modern art; without which our knowledge of single masters and of the development of schools would be poor and fragmentary. Numerous omissions, with chronological and other mistakes, demand a very rigid criticism, but upon the whole, considered as the first comprehensive work of this kind, compiled chiefly from verbal tradition, it is worthy of confidence. Added to this we remark a certain fairness of tone, limited, however, chiefly to the Tuscan masters, which, in a painter living in the midst of various pursuits and contending interests, is no slight merit.* Finally, the style in which he writes has made his history of art agreeable to all readers, and given an incalculable interest to the subject. *Vasari*'s descriptions are often full of freshness and liveliness, and his anecdotes invaluable in the history of men and manners.

* *Vasari*'s chief fault is that, being a Tuscan, from motives of patriotism he gave undue prominence to the Tuscan school, writing slightingly of, or scarcely noticing, painters of far greater eminence than those whose lives and works he minutely describes. He was, at the same time, too ready to repeat the merest gossip, and was strongly biassed in favour of or against certain artists. Many of the errors and misstatements of Vasari have been corrected, as we have had frequent occasion to point out, in recent editions of his works, especially in those of Lemonier and Sansoni.

Francesco de' Rossi, surnamed '*de' Salviati*' after his patrons, was a friend of *Vasari*, and allied to him in style. He was employed in the decoration of the Sala Regia in the Vatican.

Angiolo di Cosimo, called *il Bronzino*, was another intimate friend of *Vasari*, and a scholar and imitator of *Pontormo*. His portraits are fine, though his colouring is often inferior. One of his best, but injured by over-cleaning, is that of Lucretia dei Pucci, in the Uffizi. 'A Descent of Christ into Hades,' in the same collection, though cold, is carefully painted, and not over-mannered. In the Palazzo Vecchio (Florence), there is a small room with finely-executed frescoes by him. An 'Allegory' in the National Gallery is a remarkable example of *Bronzino*. As we have already mentioned, the fine portrait in the Borghese Gallery, at Rome, attributed to *Raphael*, and erroneously conjectured to be that of Cæsar Borgia, is now ascribed to *Bronzino*.*

Alessandro Allori, nephew and scholar of *Bronzino*, is, except in a few delicate and careful portraits, very mediocre.

Santo Titi or *di Tito*, also a scholar of *Bronzino*, is occasionally less mannered. There are portraits by him in the Uffizi—that of a little girl is very pleasing, and perhaps his best—and in the Torrigiani collection, and an altar-piece representing the Baptism of Christ, in the Corsini Gallery (Florence).

Battista Naldini, *Bernardino Barbatelli*, called *Poccetti*, and others may be merely named.

The second period of Florentine art attached itself later to the better productions of this school.

The general corruption of the Mannerists did not extend to the Sienese in an equal degree; *Ventura Salimbeni*, *Francesco Vanni*, *Domenico Manetti*, and others, often display some cleverness at this degenerate period, with an ingenuous adherence to Nature, although they never rise to the simplicity of the earlier masters.

One of the adherents and imitators of *Michael Angelo* is *Marco Pino*, or *Marco da Siena*, who was the pupil of *Perin*

* See p. 529.

del Vaga, or, according to some, of *Beccafumi*. He was employed at Rome as the assistant to *Daniele da Volterra*, and in the decoration of the Sala Regia of the Vatican, and in executing altar-pieces for the churches of SS. Apostoli and Araceli. He subsequently practised art in Naples, where many of his works are to be met with; they contain clever and spirited portions, with much that is affected and insipid.

But the completest degeneracy is to be found in Rome, the very place in which the greatest number of the most perfect models exist. Little that is deserving of record was produced here in these later times; and from 1570 till 1600, every variety of manner contributed by turns to debase the arts. Pope Gregory XIII. and his successors erected many buildings, and ordered many paintings, but rapidity of hand alone had value, and art was degraded to the lowest mechanical labour.*

The best among the artists of this time is *Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta*, who endeavoured to adhere to the style of the school of *Raphael*. An excellent 'Pietà' by him is in the gallery of Count Raczynski at Berlin. An 'Adoration of the Shepherds,' in the church of S. Maria della Pace, at Rome, is, in expression, colouring, and appropriate representation, a pleasing picture. On the other hand, his frescoes in the Remigius chapel in the church of S. Luigi de' Francesi are already much mannered.

Pasquale Cati da Jesi painted in fresco the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence above the high altar in S. Lorenzo in Panisperna at Rome. The excellence of the drawing shows one of the best scholars of *Michael Angelo*.

Taddeo and *Federigo Zuccaro* are both insipid and trivial, with a disagreeable smooth manner; yet we find in them the elements of considerable talent, particularly in works where portraits are introduced, which compelled them to adhere more closely to nature. This is evident in their

* Although the term 'Roman School' is frequently used, it must be remembered that, strictly speaking, no such school existed. With the exception of *Giulio Romano*, the pupil and imitator of *Raphael*, Rome produced no painter.

historical paintings in the castle of Caprarola,* and in the admirable portrait of a Man with two Dogs, by *Federigo*, in the Pitti Palace. Among other works, *Federigo* painted the cupola of the Duomo of Florence with a multitude of figures, some of most colossal dimensions. A satire of the day concludes with these lines :—

> "Poor Florence, alas! will ne'er cease to complain
> Till she sees her fine cupola whitewash'd again."

But this has never happened. *Federigo* was also an author, and evidently sought to rival *Vasari*. He wrote a theoretical work on art,† filled with "intellectual and formative ideas, substantial substances, formal forms," etc.: he calls philosophy and philosophizing "a metaphorical, allegorical drawing." Just as empty and inflated as these words are the greater number of his pictures. Here and there, however, his original gifts got the better of his false principles—as, for instance, in the 'Dead Christ surrounded by Angels,' in the Borghese Palace at Rome, which is a picture of great effect. There is also a good altar-piece by him in the Duomo Lucca.

Agostino Ciampelli, by birth a Florentine, and a scholar of *Santo di Tito*, deserves notice here for his graceful row of angels with votive offerings on the walls of the apsis in the church of S. Maria in Trastevere (Rome); also for two pictures in S. Pudenziana (Rome), representing pious females interring the bodies of martyrs. With much mannerism he still displays a feeling for expression and simple beauty.

Giuseppe Cesare, known as *il Cavaliere d'Arpino*, is a better artist; he flourished, however, more towards the beginning of the seventeenth century. We find in his works less of the deplorable mannerism just described, with an intelligent clear colouring, and a fluid touch. Among his better works are the ceiling frescoes in the choir of S. Silvestro a Monte

* 'Illustri fatti Farnesiani coloriti nel Real Palazzo di Caprarola dai fratelli Taddeo, Federigo ed Ottaviano Zuccari, dis. et inc. da G. G. de Prenner:' Roma, 1748.

† 'L'idea de' Scultori, Pittori ed Architetti:' Torino, 1607. There are also other short writings by Zuccaro.

Cavallo at Rome. He formed a large school, by means of which he directed the Roman practice, and presented a decided opposition to other masters, particularly to the school of the *Carracci*, to whom we shall presently advert.

A certain reaction against the decline of art was opposed by *Federigo Baroccio* of Urbino (b. 1528–d. 1612), originally a scholar of *Battista Franco*. He attached himself somewhat less superficially to the study of the great masters, especially to *Correggio*, and may take the same rank as *Parmigianino*. His merit did not lie in any depth of meaning or power; his conception is sometimes highly affected, his expression sentimental, and his colouring, though often of an agreeable harmony and depth, yet rouge-like in the carnations. His better attributes are a very animated and decided emotion, and also a tender idylic character, to which his dexterously-treated light colours and chiaroscuro, which sometimes anticipate *Rubens*, give a higher charm. When employed in the Vatican, at Rome, some of his rivals sought to take his life by poison; this determined him to return to his home, and there to execute his numerous commissions, while his pictures, being dispersed to various parts of Italy, excited great interest. Among his principal works are a colossal 'Descent from the Cross,' in the cathedral at Perugia, not without grandeur in the agitated group surrounding the fainting Virgin; and the Last Supper, an altar-piece in the Duomo of Urbino. A 'Madonna upon clouds, with St. Lucy and St. Anthony,' in the Louvre, has more technical merit. 'Christ with the Magdalen,' in the Corsini Gallery at Rome, is, for truth and *naïveté*, one of the best of his works. The 'Madonna interceding for the Poor,' in the gallery of the Uffizi, is well painted. *Baroccio* is also seen in an unfinished work of fine imagination—the 'Descent from the Cross,' with the Archangel sheathing his sword—in the Arciginasio, Bologna. This picture is also interesting to painters, for the grey preparations of the flesh. The works by him in the Vatican and in the Borghese Palace are less remarkable. The National Gallery possesses a good picture of the Holy Family by

Baroccio, known as 'La Madonna del Gatto,' from the cat he has introduced into it.

Among *Baroccio*'s followers is *Cristoforo Roncalli* (called *il Cavaliere delle Pomarance*), by whom many, chiefly mediocre, works exist—the best, perhaps, in the Cupola of S. Pudentiana (Rome); *Giovanni Baglione*; and several artists who flourished in Genoa, and elsewhere.

Equal degeneracy appears in Bologna, where, as we have seen, the style of the so-called Roman school had been transplanted by *Raphael*'s scholars and imitators.

Prospero Fontana, *Lorenzo Sabbatini*, *Orazio Sammachini*, and *Bartolommeo Passerotti*, are the foremost masters of this period, though seldom more than mere mannerists.

Lavinia Fontana, the daughter of *Prospero*, has more merit, Her painting is clever and bold, and in portraits, especially, she has left good works.

Dionisio Fiammingo, properly *Denys Calvart*, a native of Antwerp, who received his education in the school of *Prospero Fontana*, is among the better Bolognese artists of his time. He is certainly not free from mannerism, but is distinguished by a warmer colouring, which he probably derived from his native country. *Bartolommeo Cesi* also deserves to be favourably mentioned, as his pictures, like those of *Lavinia Fontana*, show a closer attention to Nature.

Lastly, *Luca Longhi*, a Ravenna painter, may also be noticed. His pictures are principally to be met with at his native place—in the public gallery, and elsewhere. His chief work is the 'Marriage at Cana,' in the refectory of the suppressed Camaldolese Convent at Ravenna. In his early manner his colouring is weak and pale, and his pictures have an antiquated look, as in an altar-piece by him in the Berlin Gallery—a Virgin and Child enthroned with Saints —dated 1542. Later it became much richer and warmer, as in a large altar-piece in the Brera representing the Virgin and Child and two Saints with an Angel playing on a lute, and another in the Louvre. These show a Raphaelesque influence probably derived through *Innocenzo da Imola*. In his latest works he appears as an imitator of *Parmigianino*.

Barbara Longhi was the daughter of *Luca*. A picture by

her, formerly in the Castellani Collection, at Turin, is dated 1589. *Francesco Longhi* is of the same family. Both were even weaker painters than *Luca*.

In other places we find similar works and workmen. All may be passed over, with the exception of some artists of Genoa, where *Perino del Vaga* had spread the Roman style. The brothers *Andrea* and *Ottavio Semini* may be mentioned, but more particularly *Luca Cambiaso* (*Luchetto da Genova*), who, notwithstanding much mannerism, occasionally pleases by a clever and sound conception of Nature. From among the Neapolitan mannerists of this time we must except *Simone Papa*, who retained an agreeable simplicity, and distinguished himself by correctness of form. His most important works are the frescoes in the church of Mont' Oliveto at Naples.

CHAPTER XXV.

ECLECTIC SCHOOLS.

THE immediate effect upon art of the renewed activity of the Roman Catholic Church, consequent on the Reformation, was very apparent in Italy, and as early as the latter part of the sixteenth century we trace a fresh development of Italian painting in many central localities.

The chief painters of this time (that is, the end of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century) are known by the name of the 'Eclectics,' from their having endeavoured to select and unite the best qualities of each of the great masters, without however excluding the study of Nature. This eclectic aim, when carried to an extreme, necessarily involved a great misconception; for the merit of the earlier masters consisted strictly in their individual and peculiar qualities; the endeavour, therefore, to combine characteristics essentially different was inherently false.

In opposition to these Eclectics arose another school, which sought to form an independent style, distinct from those of

the earlier masters. This freedom was based on an indiscriminate imitation of common Nature, conceived in a bold and lively manner. The artists of this direction are distinguished by the name of the '*Naturalisti*.' Each class, however, exercised an influence on the other, particularly the *Naturalisti* on the Eclectics. It is thus frequently impossible to distinguish, with perfect precision, the artists of the one school from those of the other.

The most important of the Eclectic schools was that of the *Carracci* at Bologna. Its founder, properly speaking, was *Lodovico Carracci* (b. 1555–d. 1619), a scholar, first of *Prospero Fontana*, and afterwards of *Tintoretto*, in Venice.* He passed his youth in constant and close attention to studies which had become a dead letter among the artists of the time, and which exposed him to much ridicule and contempt; but this only made it the more evident to him that reform was desirable, and that it had become necessary to introduce rules and well-understood principles into art, to counteract the lawless caprice of the 'mannerists.' But since a declaration of war, under these circumstances, was no light undertaking, he looked round for powerful assistance, and found it in the persons of his two nephews, *Agostino* (b. 1558–d. 1601), and *Annibale Carracci* (b. 1560–d. 1609). They were sons of a tailor; *Agostino* having been intended for a goldsmith, *Annibale* for his father's trade. *Lodovico* observed a talent for painting in both, and took upon himself to educate them as artists.

In concert with them he opened an academy at Bologna, under the name of the *Incamminati*, which they furnished with all the necessary means of study, such as casts, drawings, and engravings; supplying living models for drawing and painting, and providing instruction in the theoretic departments of perspective, anatomy, etc. Further, they superintended and directed the studies of their scholars

* The school of the *Carracci* and other eclectics is derived from, or united to that of *Costa* and *Francia*, through *Prospero Fontana*, who was under the influence of *Raphael*, and especially of *Dosso Dossi*, as may be seen in the picture by him in the Bologna Gallery; by *Calvart*, who was under that of *Michael Angelo*, and by others. There was thus a certain continuity in the Bolognese school from its earliest period down to its extinction.

(many of whom had had reason to complain of the superciliousness of their previous masters) with judgment and kindness. In spite, therefore, of the opposition of the established painters, the school of the *Carracci* became more and more frequented, and it was not long before all the other schools of art in Bologna were closed.

The study of Nature, and a combination of the excellences of the great masters, were the fundamental principles of this school. A sonnet by *Agostino Carracci* remains, in which he defines the principles of the school agreeably to this system. He says: "Let him who wishes to be a good painter acquire the drawing of Rome, Venetian action and Venetian management of shade, the dignified colour of Lombardy (that is, of *Leonardo da Vinci*), the terrible manner of *Michael Angelo*, *Titian*'s truth and nature, the sovereign purity of *Correggio*'s style, and the just symmetry of *Raphael;* the decorum and well-grounded study of *Tibaldi*, the invention of the learned *Primaticcio*, and a little of *Parmigianino*'s grace; or without so much study and weary labour, let him apply himself to imitate the works which our *Niccolò* (*dell' Abbate*) has left us here." * This patchwork ideal, the impossibility of which we have already alluded to, constituted only one transition step in the history of the *Carracci* and their school. In the

* "Chi farsi un buon pittor cerca, e desia,
Il disegno di Roma abbia alla mano,
La mossa coll' ombrar Veneziano,
E il degno colorir di Lombardia.
Di Michel Angiol la terribil via,
Il vero natural di Tiziano,
Del Correggio lo stil puro e sovrano,
E di un Raffael la giusta simmetria.
Del Tibaldi il decoro, e il fondamento,
Del dotto Primaticcio l' inventare,
E un po di grazia del Parmigianino,
Ma senza tanti studj, e tanto stento,
Si ponga l' opre solo ad imitare
Che qui lasciocci il nostro Niccolino."

"The translation in the text differs a little from that given by Herr Kugler. The passage 'la mossa coll' ombrar Veneziano' has been supposed to refer chiefly to *Tintoret*. (See Malvasia, quoted by Fuseli, 'Lectures,' l. ii.) It is to be observed that the word 'mossa' is a technical term still applied in Italy to attitude or action: thus the expression 'una bella mossa' is commonly applied to an academy figure. 'Venetian shade' was no doubt intended to be understood less exclusively. The management of shade in this

prime of their artistic activity they greatly threw off their eclectic pretensions—they neither needed the decorum of *Tibaldi* nor the invention of *Primaticcio*, they had attained an independence of their own. The imitation of the great masters, where it is apparent, is no longer lifeless and superficial, the mere plagiarism of single features, but is rather a thoroughly understood and artistic appropriation of their highest qualities, bearing the character rather of rivalry than of imitation. It is true that the eclecticism they originally professed often left its traces in a coldness, stiffness, and academical consciousness, which offend the spectator; but we are inclined to moderate even this criticism when we consider the difficulty of opposing fresh ideas to the exaggerated mannerism then existing, and when we consider also that it was the individual energy of these painters which forced them a way through the trammels of imitation. They possessed a true feeling for the higher subjects of art, and it was by their own marvellous zeal that they attained a considerable, though not a perfect, harmony of corresponding style. In some respects they adopted the bold naturalism of their times, moderated and refined by an acquaintance with the great models of antiquity, and with those of the period of *Raphael*.

The merit of *Lodovico Carracci* is rather that of a teacher than of an independent and productive artist. The greater number of his works are at Bologna, particularly in the Gallery. In general composition they are seldom attractive or dignified; the ability they evince is rather to be sought in single parts. Among the finest of those in the Gallery is a Madonna, in a glory of Angels, standing on the Moon, with St. Francis and St. Jerome beside her; the Madonna and Child are painted with peculiar grace, and with a happy imitation of the chiaroscuro of *Correggio*. In the same

school generally corresponds with the effects we see in the open air: the intensest darks are confined to hollows; all other shades are considered as lesser degrees of light: thus the mutable accidents of light seldom interfere with the permanent qualities of colour and form. The expression 'the just symmetry of *Raphael*,' was perhaps intended to relate to the balance of his composition and the shape of his masses—not merely to the proportions of the human form."—C. L. E.

collection there is a 'Birth of the Baptist,' with much that is attractive in the truth and artlessness of certain portions. In the convent of S. Michele in Bosco, at Bologna, he painted (with his scholars) scenes from the histories of St. Benedict and St. Cecilia; some of them have, in like manner, a character of grandeur and grace. The 'Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes,' in the Berlin Museum, on the other hand, is insignificant in conception. We remark that it was *Lodovico Carracci* who first dwelt, in his pictures, on the pathos of sorrow, whence resulted the many 'Ecce Homos' and sorrowing Virgins of the Bolognese school. A large 'Pietà,' of terrible but truly natural grief in expression, is in the Corsini Gallery at Rome. A colossal 'Ecce Homo,' of beautiful and mild expression, though not of corresponding power, is in the Doria Gallery. Several pictures in the Louvre—a Madonna, an Adoration, and others—betray, in character and mode of light and shade, the study of *Correggio*.

Agostino Carracci, on the whole, painted less; he was a man of learned education, and superintended the theoretical instruction of the academy. He is also celebrated as an engraver. Among his pictures, which are rare, and remarkable for delicacy of treatment, the 'St. Jerome receiving the Sacrament,' in the Bolognese Gallery, is the most important. The composition, like that of all the great works of the time, has the appearance of contrivance, but the picture has truth of character, and contains much that is good in detail. The infant Hercules strangling the Serpents, in the Louvre, of very energetic character, is by *Agostino*, though ascribed to *Annibale Carracci*.

Annibale Carracci is the most distinguished of this family. In consequence of his studies in Upper Italy, we find an imitation of *Correggio*, and afterwards of *Paul Veronese*, in his earlier works; but after his residence in Rome, his own powerful style, formed under the influence of the works of *Raphael* and *Michael Angelo*, and of the antique, as he understood it, developed itself in a new form. *Annibale* does not always please; his forms have often something general and unindividual, and are deficient in true enthusiasm: as if, fettered by the sense of the naturalism against which he had

to contend, he had been afraid to trust his own inspiration. Yet, for all this, if the spectator be just, he will always recognise the greatness of the painter in the power which pervades his works, and, where his feeling for Nature is allowed to have scope, in his freshness and vigour. In the Gallery of Bologna there is a picture by him, in which the Madonna is in the manner of *Paul Veronese;* the Infant and the little St. John in that of *Correggio;* and St. John the Evangelist in that of *Titian*, while the St. Catherine resembles *Parmigianino.* We find similar motives in a large picture of St. Roch distributing alms, in the Dresden Gallery—one of his most celebrated works. *Annibale* is most happy in small compositions, such as Madonnas and Holy Families. A very graceful picture of the kind is in the Tribune of the Uffizi; another in the Museum at Berlin. One similar to the last-mentioned is in the Louvre, where there are also a large number of his pictures of various periods. A 'Pietà,' often repeated, is excellent. A 'Dead Christ in the lap of the Madonna,' with two weeping boy-angels, is extremely well composed; and the Virgin particularly has something of the dignity of the masters of the beginning of the century. A beautiful replica of this picture is in the Borghese Gallery at Rome, another in the Museum at Naples. The well-known picture of the Three Marys, at Castle Howard, is of singular grandeur and pathos in the expression of grief. The series of frescoes of mythological designs in the Farnese Palace at Rome,* and particularly in the so-called gallery of the palace, is generally considered his best performance. Indeed these works may be accepted as the fairest criterion of the school. Artistically speaking, they claim the utmost admiration: in the technical process of fresco we know no more finished specimens. The arrangement on the arched ceiling of the great saloon is only surpassed (and that, it is true, in a different way) by the Sistine Chapel. The drawing is altogether masterly both in the nude and in the draperies, and, as far as fresco permits,

* They have been frequently engraved: the best work is 'Galeriæ Farnesianæ Icones, etc., ab Annibale Carracio coloribus expressæ, a Petro Aquila del. inc. Romæ.'

modeling, colouring, and chiaroscuro may be termed perfect. Still, independently of the ostentatious study of *Raphael* and *Michael Angelo*, which is everywhere apparent, we especially feel the want of true life, of the real capacity for enjoyment, which, in subjects of this kind, is absolutely essential. In the composition of the 'Galatea'—one of the many subjects represented—it is evident that the fullest enjoyment of the senses was intended to be expressed. Its general expression is, however, cold and heavy, and the same may be said of other mythical subjects by *Annibale*; though in many of them (for example, in the famous 'Bacchante' in the Tribune of the Uffizi, and in the Museum at Naples) the colouring is masterly. The paintings in the Farnese Palace were *Annibale*'s last important works. The parsimony of his employers provoked his anger, and had an unfavourable effect on his health, which was further injured by a journey to Naples and the persecutions he encountered from the Neapolitan artists. He died soon after his return to Rome.

Annibale was one of the first who practised landscape-painting as a separate department of art. In him and his contemporaries the influence of the Netherlands and Venice, of *Paul Brill* and of *Titian*, is seen united; and they, in their turn, laid the foundation for *Poussin* and *Claude Lorraine*. In many of *Annibale*'s historical pictures, as, for example, in several in the Louvre, the landscape divides the interest with the figures. It is true his landscape is wanting in the charm which later painters attained, and also in the glow of colour which belongs to *Titian*. With all his lively feeling for grand and beautiful lines, and for a corresponding arrangement of architecture, *Annibale*'s landscapes still bear the stamp of spirited scene-paintings. Many of this description are in the Doria Palace at Rome, and a very admirable picture of energetic effect and poetical composition is in the Museum at Berlin. Two small poetic subjects of Bacchus and Silenus are in the National Gallery. Two others, one of which directly recalls *Paul Brill*, are at Castle Howard. *Genre* pictures by *Annibale* also exist. The 'Greedy Eater,' in the Colonna Palace at Rome, and another —a man with a monkey—in the Uffizi, are interesting

THE COMMUNION OF ST JEROME. | by Domenichino in the Vatican Gallery

proofs of the humorous vigour of which this painter was capable.

A number of important artists, with various peculiarities of style, sprang from the school of the *Carracci*, in some respects surpassing their masters. The most celebrated are the following.

Domenico Zampieri, surnamed *Domenichino*, (b. 1581–d. 1641) a painter in whose works, more than in those of any other artist of the time, we occasionally observe the artlessness and free conception of nature, which were peculiar to the contemporaries of *Raphael*.* But even *Domenichino*, on the whole, and in essentials, could never cast aside the trammels of his school; this indeed was to be the less expected, as he was not gifted with a particularly rich fancy. He frequently made use of the compositions of other artists—as in his celebrated picture of the Communion of St. Jerome, in the Vatican (see woodcut)—in which we find a close imitation of the same subject by *Agostino Carracci*. The imitation is not, however, servile, and there is an interesting individuality in several of the heads. It was seldom that he succeeded perfectly in the higher subjects of inspiration. Among his best specimens are the Four Evangelists, in the pendentives of the cupola of the church of S. Andrea della Valle at Rome—wonderful compositions, in which the group of St. John, surrounded with angels, constitutes one of the finest efforts we know of this kind. In other historical pictures *Domenichino* is often cold and studied, especially in the principal subject; while on the other hand, the subordinate figures have much grace, and a noble character of beauty. Of this the two frescoes in the church of S. Luigi at Rome, representing the legend of St. Cecilia, are striking examples. It is not the Saint herself, bestowing her goods from a balcony, who constitutes the chief subject, but the masterly group of poor people struggling for them below. The same may be said of the Death of the Saint, in which the admiration and grief of the bystanders are inimitable; and of the 'Scourging of St. Andrew,' in the chapel of

* Outlines in Landon, 'Vies et Œuvres,' etc., t. Domenichino.

that saint, next S. Gregorio, on Monte Celio (Rome), where a group of women, thrust back by the executioners, is of the highest beauty. The frescoes in a chapel of the Duomo at Fano representing scenes from the life of the Virgin, are his best works. They suffered from the smoke when part of the church was burnt; but we can perceive, in the Visitation—the best-preserved picture—a feelin for beauty, and a purity, candour and mildness of expression, such as are perhaps not to be met with in any of his other productions. There are also many beautiful parts in the frescoes, from the history of St. Nilus, which *Domenichino* painted at Grottaferrata,* near Rome. His great altar-pieces, gathered together in the Gallery of Bologna, contain little more than theatrical attitudes. The 'Martyrdom of St. Sebastian,' in the church of S. Maria degli Angeli (Rome), is deficient in conception, and altogether the subject lies beyond the sphere of this master. At this time pictures of martyrdoms, in which *Raphael* and his contemporaries were so sparing, came greatly into vogue; painters and patrons sought for passionate emotion, and these subjects supplied them with plentiful food.

An oil-painting by *Domenichino* in the Borghese Gallery at Rome, representing Diana and her Nymphs, some of whom are shooting at a mark with arrows, others bathing, is a very pleasing composition, peculiarly fine in its lines, and full of characteristic movement but even here the expression of the heads is not equally natural throughout. A beautiful and naïve picture by him, a guardian Angel defending his charge — a splendid boy—from Satan, is in the Public Gallery at Naples. The half-length figure of St. John, looking upwards in inspiration, well known by Müller's engraving, which however is not quite true to the original, is in Prince Narischkin's collection at St Petersburg. Another, not less admirable, is at Castle Howard. A fine St. Sebastian, with pious women dressing his wounds, somewhat recalling the Venetian manner, is in the Städel Institute at Frankfort.

Like *Annibale Carracci*, *Domenichino* was invited to Naples;

* 'Picturæ Domenici Zampierii quæ extant in Sacello sacræ ædi Chryptoferratensi adjuncto.' Romæ, 1762.

like him, too, he was persecuted by the Neapolitan painters, who tolerated no strangers. Of his works there the most important are in the chapel of the Tesoro in the Duomo. He died before their completion—it is suspected, by poison. *Domenichino* was also an excellent landscape-painter. The character of his landscapes, like those by *Annibale Carracci*, is decorative; but it is united in a happy manner with warmth of colour, and a cheerful, lively feeling. Excellent works of the kind are in the Villa Ludovisi and in the Doria Palace (Rome), in the Louvre, and in the National Gallery and Bridgewater collection (London).

Domenichino formed but few scholars; one of them, *Giambattista Passeri*, is one of the most esteemed writers on the history of Italian painting.

Francesco Albano (b. 1578–d. 1660).* Elegance is in one word the characteristic of this painter. He delights in cheerful subjects, in which a playful fancy can expatiate, such as scenes and figures from ancient mythology—above all, Venus and her companions, smiling landscapes, and hosts of charming Amorini, who surround the principal groups or even form the subject of the picture. But his works, both landscape and figures, have throughout a merely decorative character; their elegance seldom rises to real grace; their playfulness rarely bespeaks real enjoyment. Pictures of the class alluded to are not uncommon in galleries; in the Louvre, especially, they are numerous. In the Borghese Gallery, at Rome, are the Four Seasons, which might just as well be called the four elements (only one of them by his own hand), with others in the Colonna Palace. In the Torlonia Palace, are some pleasing frescoes of an allegorical-mythological nature, still preserved on the ceilings of the Loggia on the first story. Religious subjects occur less frequently; but in these (some are in the Gallery of Bologna), if not more profound, he appears more skilful, and is tolerably free from exaggeration and affectation. One of his most graceful and frequently repeated compositions is the Infant Christ sleeping on the Cross.

* Outlines in Landon, 'Vies et Œuvres,' etc., t. Albani.

Albano formed various scholars at Bologna and at Rome. The best of them are:—*Giovanni Battista Mola*, a Frenchman, an unaffected painter, by whom there are some good portraits; and *Pier Francesco Mola*, from the vicinity of Como, excellent in historical pictures and in single figures, especially as respects colour. His landscapes, with Biblical and mythological subjects, are grandly composed, and are admirable in effect of light and atmosphere, especially in glowing evening scenes. *Carlo Cignani* is an artist of no great importance, characterised by a graceful but superficial style. One of his pictures, 'Joseph and Potiphar's Wife,' is in the Dresden Gallery; and an enormous 'Assumption of the Virgin' in the Munich Gallery. *Andrea Sacchi* is the cleverest of the school. An excellent work of its kind by him, representing S. Romualdo among the Friars of his Order, in the Vatican, hardly deserves the epithet of grand, but contains some noble figures in well-managed white drapery. A 'Miracle by St. Gregory,' in the same gallery, is trivial in invention, but of a luminous effect of colour. Other works of his are very inferior. *Carlo Maratti*, or *Maratta*, a scholar of *Sacchi*, flourished about the end of the seventeenth century. He was an artist of limited ability, whose works exhibit an insipid striving after ideal beauty—he may be called an inferior *Guido*. The absence of expression and meaning which is the characteristic of his contemporaries of the end of the seventeenth century, is at all events replaced in his pictures by great study of composition. His real reputation in the history of Art is founded on the care with which he watched over *Raphael's* frescoes in Rome and superintended their restoration. His portraits are occasionally fine, such as that of Maria-Maddalena Rospigliosi, in the Louvre.

Guido Reni (b. 1575–d. 1642).* This artist was gifted with a refined feeling for beauty, both in form and grouping. In a freer period of Art he would probably have attained the highest excellence, but it is precisely in his works that the restraint of his age is most apparent. His ideal consisted not

* Outlines in Landon, 'Vies et Œuvres,' etc., t. Guido.

so much in an exalted and purified conception of beautiful nature, as in an unmeaning, empty abstraction, devoid of individual life and personal interest. In the beauty of his forms, of the heads particularly (which are mostly copied from celebrated antiques, such as that of the Niobe), and in his grouping, we perceive the cold calculation of the understanding, and it is but seldom that a spontaneous feeling makes its way. The progressive development of *Guido* was singular in its kind, for its period was marked by works very dissimilar in style. Those of his early time have an imposing, almost violent character: grand, powerful figures, finely arranged, with dark shadows, resembling the manner of the *Naturalisti*, particularly of *Michelangelo da Caravaggio*, of whom we shall presently speak. Among them the 'Crucifixion of St. Peter,' now in the Vatican, is quoted as having been painted in imitation of that painter; it has his heavy, powerful forms, but as it wants the passionate feeling which sustains such subjects—it is a martyrdom and nothing more—it might pass for an enormous and horrible *genre* picture. Some of his best works in the Gallery at Bologna belong to this class. A large picture called the 'Madonna della Pietà' may be first mentioned. In the upper part is the body of Christ, laid on a bier—the 'Mater Dolorosa' and two weeping angels at the sides, and below the patron saints of Bologna. Still more grand is the Crucifixion, with the Madonna and St. John beside the Cross, in which the Virgin is a figure of solemn beauty—one of *Guido*'s finest and most dignified creations. A third celebrated picture at Bologna is the Massacre of the Innocents. The female figures are beautiful, and the composition very animated, but the feeling for mere abstract beauty is too apparent. The 'Crucifixion,' in the Modena Gallery—Christ on the Cross alone, with drapery violently agitated by the storm, which is indicated by the dark sky—is a very striking picture. Also one in the Berlin Museum representing the two hermits, St. Paul and St. Anthony—powerful figures, who may be called true heroes of the desert.

At a subsequent time this fondness for the powerful became

moderated, and a more simple and natural style of imitation succeeded, but there are few examples extant of this happy period of transition. *Guido*'s best picture—unfortunately an unfinished one—belongs to this time. It is in the choir of S. Martino at Naples, whither the painter was invited; but, whence, like other artists, he was driven away by the jealousy of the Neapolitans. The subject is the Nativity. In the figures of the shepherds and women there are qualities of beauty and artlessness not to be found in any other of his works. A second excellent specimen is the large and well-known fresco on the ceiling of the garden pavilion of the Rospigliosi Palace at Rome, representing Aurora preceding Phœbus, whose chariot is drawn by white and piebald horses, while the Hours, graceful figures in beautiful action, advance in rapid flight (see woodcut). The whole is brilliantly coloured. A third, and highly pleasing work, apparently of this, his best time, is the fresco in the apsis of the Cappella S. Silvia, near S. Gregorio, at Rome, representing a concert of angels above a balustrade adorned with drapery, on which lie the music-books. In the centre are three naked children singing, and on each side the charming figures of full-grown angels with trumpets, violoncellos, flutes, and tambourines. Some of them are whispering playfully together; others are looking curiously down; above is the First Person of the Trinity, in the act of benediction. The whole picture is imbued with a glow of youthful animation and beauty, which reminds us of the best times of Italian art. Another fresco, in the neighbouring Cappella S. Andrea, is of high merit—St. Andrew, on his way to execution, sees the cross awaiting him in the distance, and falls upon his knees in adoration; the executioners and spectators regard him with astonishment. The fresco of the 'Glorification of St. Dominick,' in the chapel dedicated to that Saint in the church of S. Petronio, Bologna, is a great work, and shows *Guido*'s power as a fresco painter. The head of the Saint is singularly fine, and the whole composition is suffused with a golden light which produces an admirable effect. Here we may also mention the decorations of the sacramental chapel in the

PHŒBUS AND AURORA: a fresco by Guido Reni on a pavilion of the Rospigliosi Palace, Rome.

cathedral at Ravenna. A 'Glory' in the cupola, and the 'Gathering of Manna,' over the altar, are both excellent. The artist's transition to a less pleasing manner is seen in a picture of which there are numerous repetitions (at Rome in the Gallery of the Capitol, at Munich, in the Museum of Berlin, etc.), representing Fortune as a naked female figure, sweeping over the globe, while an Amorino endeavours to hold her back by her veil and hair.

Guido's works, during this transition, are distinguished by an agreeable warmth of colour. Those of a later period are of a pale silvery grey; in them the insipid ideality, before alluded to, exhibits itself more and more, and approaches its greatest degeneracy, viz., a vapid generalization without character—an empty, ordinary kind of grace. Perhaps the best of this class is the famous 'Assumption of the Virgin,' in the Gallery at Munich. A more celebrated picture in the Gallery of Bologna has, in reality, less merit; it represents a Madonna in a glory of angels, with the patron saints of Bologna underneath. This picture is called 'Il Pallione' (the great Church Standard), from having been originally used in processions. In the later part of his life *Guido* often painted with careless haste; he had given himself up to gambling, and sought to retrieve his immense losses by raising money as rapidly and easily as he could. At this time chiefly were painted the numerous Madonnas, Cleopatras, Sibyls, &c., which are to be found in every gallery. Some of them, however, are among his most careful and charming works—as 'Judith with the Head of Holofernes,' in the Spada Gallery, Rome; and the 'Andromeda,' in the Rospigliosi Summer-house. A large number of his works, of various periods, are in the Louvre. A very beautiful Madonna, with the Sleeping Child, executed with greater care and severity than usual, is in the palace of the Quirinal. In the same palace, serving for the altar-piece of the private chapel, is a Madonna with a glory of angels. One of *Guido*'s most celebrated pictures is a female head, in the Barberini Palace, Rome, supposed, but upon insufficient grounds, to be the portrait of Beatrice Cenci. Its reputation is founded less upon its merit than upon the

interest it has excited from the fate of the unhappy woman it is believed to represent, and from the innumerable copies that have been made of it. The National Gallery contains several works of the master.

Guido formed a large number of scholars, some of whom imitated his later manner. Among them are *Semenza*, *Gessi*, *Domenico Canuti*, *Guido Cagnacci*, *Simone Cantarini* and *Gio. Andrea Sirani*, whose daughter and scholar, *Elisabetta Sirani*, also distinguished herself as an imitator of the master.

Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, surnamed *Guercino da Cento* (b. 1591–d. 1666),* although not immediately belonging to the school of the *Carracci*, or having remained in it but a short time, nevertheless decidedly followed the same general style. The progress of his development may be compared to that of *Guido Reni;* at the same time he is distinguished from that master by the expression of a livelier feeling. In the early works of *Guercino* we find the same power and solidity, the same depth of shadow, as in those by *Guido*, but already tempered by a certain sweetness, and by an admirable chiaroscuro. Two excellent pictures of this class are in the Gallery of Bologna—St. William of Aquitaine assuming the garb of a monk, and the Virgin appearing to St. Bruno. In 'Dido's Last Moments,' in the Spada Palace (Rome)—a large picture full of figures—the expression of sorrow and passion in Dido and her attendants is of the utmost power, the colouring glowing and deep. A 'St. Petronilla,' in the Gallery of the Capitol, is of a more superficial character, but painted in a masterly manner. The 'Incredulity of Thomas,' in the gallery of the Vatican, is also a distinguished work; the profile of the Saviour especially is very noble in expression. 'St. Peter raising Tabitha,' in the Pitti Palace, though of smaller dimensions, is a masterpiece. A Madonna in the clouds, adored by several saints, is in the Louvre. A large Madonna and Child enthroned, with the infant Baptist on the pedestal of the throne, in the Palazzo Brignole Sala (Genoa), is a very fine example of the master. The same may be said of a picture with SS. Chiara and

* Jac. Aless. Calvi, 'Notizia della Vita e delle Opere di Gio. Franc. Barbieri, detto il Guercino da Cento.' Bologna, 1808.

Francis kneeling below the Madonna, in the Parma Gallery. At a later period *Guercino*, like *Guido*, adopted a softer style, in which he produced a fascinating effect by a delicate combination of colours. His works of this time have a certain sentimental character, which in some instances is developed with peculiar grace. Among the best are the 'Hagar and Ishmael,' in the Brera,* and a 'Sibyl' in the Tribune of the Uffizi; also several pictures in the Louvre and in English galleries. In his later works the same insipidity observable in *Guido* frequently appears; a repulsive mannerism takes the place of sentiment, and the colouring is pale and washy. *Guercino* also practised landscape-painting, and acquired in this department a beautiful and rich style of colouring.

Several painters of the *Gennari* family, among whom *Benedetto* was the most remarkable, were scholars and imitators of *Guercino*.

In the hands of *Giovanni Lanfranco* (b. 1581–d. 1647), the art again degenerates into mere mechanism—an effort to produce effect by dexterity and superficial means. Abrupt contrasts of light and shade; grouping according to school precepts rather than according to the nature of the subject; foreshortenings without necessity, merely as a display of drawing; and countenances which, notwithstanding the tension of every feature, express nothing: these are the elements of *Lanfranco*'s art. Even the study of Nature is neglected, and the severity and solidity of the *Carracci* begin to disappear—the sole merit of a facile and cheerful colour excepted. Yet *Lanfranco* was more popular than perhaps any other artist of the school. Many considerable cupola-decorations were executed by him; for example, those of the church of S. Andrea della Valle in Rome; and those in the Tesoro at Naples, where he alone successfully maintained his position against the Neapolitan artists. Where the subject permitted of a naturalistic conception he is generally most successful. The 'Liberation of St. Peter,' in the Colonna Palace (Rome), is a good picture of this kind. On the other hand, his 'St. Cecilia,' in the Barberini Palace, with

* This picture, it will be remembered, excited the admiration of Lord Byron; but modern opinion is much less favourable as to its merits.

her bold expression and vulgar action, may serve as a specimen of this artist's worst style.

The following are among the less celebrated scholars of the *Carracci*. *Alessandro Tiarini*, chiefly distinguished by clever execution. An altar-piece by him in the church of S. Vitale, at Bologna, representing the Flight into Egypt, is, however, a charming and original composition. The Virgin is riding on an ass, while St. Joseph walks behind carrying the Child, who stretches out its arms to its mother. Other pictures by him are in the public gallery at Bologna and in the Brera. *Lionello Spada*, a powerful painter, who happily combined the more dignified conception of the *Carracci* with the vigour and truth of *Caravaggio*. *Giacomo Cavedone*, also a very able painter: an excellent picture by him is in the Bologna Gallery. In addition to these may be mentioned the landscape-painter *Francesco Grimaldi*, who imitated the decorative style already mentioned as characterising the landscapes of *Annibale Carracci*. There are a series of pictures by him in the Borghese Gallery at Rome, and a good specimen in the Berlin Museum.* *Il Gobbo dai Frutti* (the Hunchback fruit-painter), properly speaking *Pietro Paoli Bonzi*, by whom there are large and excellent fruit-pictures.

Bartolommeo Schedone of Modena, who died at an early age in 1615, is also said to have formed his style under the influence of this school. In his earlier works the study of *Correggio* is chiefly apparent, but the sharpness and severity of *Schedone* form an unfavourable contrast to the refined style of that master. He is more pleasing in works which are independent of this influence, and which are characterised by a straightforward imitation of Nature in the manner of the *Naturalisti*. Several interesting pictures by *Schedone* are in the Museum at Naples, where indeed most of his works are collected. Two, representing the distribution of alms to the poor, are especially worthy of notice.

Giovanni Battista Salvi, surnamed *Sassoferrato* from his birth-place (b. 1605–d. 1685), is also said to have been formed by scholars of the *Carracci*, and chiefly, it is supposed,

* Drawings in pen and ink by *F. Grimaldi* are frequently attributed to *Titian*.

by *Domenichino*. He is, however, a tolerably independent artist, free from the ideal feebleness and emptiness of the later followers of the *Carracci*. He rather imitated, and not without success, the older masters of the beginning of the sixteenth century, and has indeed a certain affinity with them in his peculiar, but not always unaffected, gentleness of mien. We have already mentioned his free copies after *Raphael*'s 'Madonna with the Pink,' and *Titian*'s picture of the 'Three Ages.' Copies also from *Pietro Perugino*, a master who, in those times, was somewhat depreciated, and an excellent copy of *Raphael*'s 'Entombment,' are in the church of S. Pietro at Perugia. His own original works have no particular depth, but are smooth, pleasing, and often of great sweetness of expression, which occasionally degenerates into sentimentality. The Madonna and Child were his constant subject. In some of these pictures he appears to great advantage, and every large gallery possesses one or more of them. The Holy Family also, in their domestic character, was a favourite subject, in his treatment of which he appears to have been the forerunner of the modern romantic school; for example, in a picture of this kind in the Public Gallery at Naples the Madonna is represented sewing, Joseph planing wood, and the youthful Christ cleaning the room. His most celebrated picture is the 'Madonna del Rosario,' in the church of S. Sabina at Rome. The expression of St. Dominick is of a high order of pathos. *Sassoferrato* finished his pictures, as his tendency would lead us to expect, with great care and minuteness.

Other Eclectic schools appeared in Italy—that of the *Campi*, for example, at Cremona, which flourished in the middle and toward the end of the sixteenth century. The head of this school, *Giulio Campi*, whom we have already mentioned,* educated his brother *Antonio*, and *Bernardino Campi*, another relative. The works of *Bernardino* are principally to be found in Cremona, especially the frescoes in the church of S. Sigismundo. A 'Pietà,' in the Louvre, shows the study of *Raphael* in the noble form of the

* See p. 577.

Virgin, and of *Correggio* in the warmth of the colouring, though it is tasteless in composition. *Sofonisba Anguisciola*, of a noble Cremonese family, *Bernardino*'s scholar, obtained so great a reputation for her portraits that she was invited in 1559 to Spain, where she painted those of Philip II., for which she received a pension of 200 scudi and a diamond of great value; of the Queen Isabella, which she sent to Pope Pius IV.; and of the unfortunate Don Carlos. She was treated with great distinction at the Spanish Court, married first to Don Fabrizio di Moncada, a Sicilian nobleman, with a dower of 12,000 ducats, and secondly to one Lomellini, a gentleman of Genoa, receiving for life a pension of 1000 ducats. She is believed to have died after 1626, blind, and at a very advanced age. Her portrait by her own hand, at the age of twenty, is in the Uffizi; another in the Vienna Gallery, on which she terms herself 'Virgo' (1554). Signor Morelli (Milan), possesses a small Holy Family, signed 'Sophonisba Anagussola Adolescens, 1559;' Count Raczynski of Berlin, an excellent family picture by her. She had four sisters *Lucia*, *Anna-Maria*, *Elena* and *Minerva*, all painters. By *Lucia* there is, in the Madrid Gallery, the portrait of the celebrated Cremonese physician, Piermaria, mentioned by Vasari. She died in 1565.*

A third Eclectic school is that of the *Procaccini* at Milan, which rose to greater importance than that of the *Campi*, owing to the patronage of the Borromeo family. Its founder, *Ercole Procaccini* (b. 1520–d. 1590), was born and educated at Bologna, and flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century. His works are not very remarkable, but they evince a care and industry which perhaps preserved him from the degenerate mannerism of the time, and well fitted him for the office of a teacher. His son and scholar *Camillo* flourished about the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the works of this artist we find, together with the study of the older masters, a particular and sometimes successful imitation of *Correggio* and *Parmigianino*, united

* Sansoni's 'Vasari,' vol. vi. pp. 498–502.

with a clever conception of Nature. He is, however, very unequal. A great facility in conception and execution led him into frequent abuse of his talents, particularly in the works which he executed out of Milan. A Madonna and Child, in the church of S. Maria del Carmine (Milan), and an 'Adoration of the Kings,' in the Brera, by him deserve notice. *Giulio Cesare Procaccini*, the brother of *Camillo*, applied himself also to the imitation of *Correggio*, and in small cabinet pictures not without success. There is a good specimen in the Berlin Museum—the Angel appearing to Joseph in a Dream; a Holy Family in the Louvre; and several pictures, including his own portrait, in the Brera. But this artist too is very unequal, and is frequently mannered. *Leon Bruno*, a Mantuan painter, also imitated *Correggio*.

Of the numerous descendants of the school of *Procaccini*, the most distinguished is *Giovanni Battista Crespi*, surnamed *Il Cerano* from his birthplace (b. 1557–d. 1653).* This artist, though not free from mannerism, is powerful. There is an excellent picture by him in the Brera, a Virgin and Child, with SS. Dominick and Catherine of Siena and Angels, and a clever one in the Museum of Berlin. His son and scholar, *Daniel Crespi*, is a less distinguished artist, but there is a series of clever portraits by him in the church of S. Maria della Passione at Milan. A third of the name, *Giuseppe Maria Crespi*, a Bolognese, and not connected with the family above mentioned, painted in the Spanish manner, and is known as *Lo Spagnuolo*. His works in Italy frequently pass under the name of *Murillo*. There is an altar-piece by him in the church of the 'Spagnuoli' at

* The editor is indebted to Signor Morelli for the following note on the *Crespi* family. "In the second half of the fifteenth century several miniaturists of the name of *Crespi* resided at Busto Arsizio, in the Milanese, and in the first twenty years of the sixteenth century, there lived at that place a *Giovan Pietro*, and a *Raffaello, Crespi*, one of whom was probably the uncle of *Giovanni Battista Crespi*, known as *il Cerano* from his birthplace in the Novarrese. By *Giovan Pietro Crespi* there exist frescoes, signed with his name, in the Cathedral of Busto Arsizio. He appears in them as a follower of the schools of *Leonardo* and *Luini*. *Il Cerano*, who formed his manner under the direct influence of *Michael Angelo da Caravaggio*, if not the founder of the school of the 'Tenebrosi,' was certainly its principal representative in Lombardy."

Bologna, representing the martyrdom of the Spanish saint, Pedro de Arbues. *Enea Salmeggia*, surnamed *Il Talpino*, also belongs to the school of the *Procaccini*, having first studied with the *Campi*. He deserves notice from the agreeable reminiscences in his pictures of *Luini*. Several of them are in the Brera, and many in the territory of Bergamo. The school afterwards degenerated into a superficial manner, with a total want of character. To this period belongs *Ercole Procaccini* the younger.

The efforts of *Baroccio* at Rome to get up a certain eclectic opposition to the mannerism of the day we have already noticed (p. 648); but he and his Roman scholars became mannerists themselves in turn. Some Florentines who joined his school towards the end of the sixteenth century were, however, more successful, and finally developed an eclectic style of their own. This late Florentine school is distinguished by great richness of colouring, and by a successful representation of beauty. But its merits are confined to single figures; in composition it rarely attains any excellence.

The most important follower of *Baroccio* is the Florentine *Ludovico Cardi da Cigoli* (b. 1559–d. 1613). He is distinguished by a delicate and warm colouring, but in expression frequently degenerates into extreme sentimentality or exaggerated passion. The gallery of the Uffizi possesses many of his works. One of the most important, the 'Martyrdom of St. Stephen,' is as excellent in colouring as it is violent and confused in action and expression. He frequently painted the subject of St. Francis. His best picture, the 'Ecce Homo,' with several figures life-size, is in the Pitti Palace, and is a work of the highest order. There is a little picture of the Flight into Egypt by him in the Louvre. Among his scholars are *Gregorio Pagani*, *Domenico da Passignano*, *Antonio Biliverti* (properly speaking *Bilevelt of Maestricht*) —by whom there is a charming picture of Tobit and his son Tobias with the angel in the Pitti Palace—and many others. *Domenico Feti*, the Roman, who inclines to the manner of the *Naturalisti*, has left a number of good small *genre* pictures of Biblical subjects. His best are in the

THE TRIUMPH OF DAVID, by Matteo Rosselli. Pitti Gallery, Florence.

gallery of the library at Mantua; several in the Dresden collection; and a mourning figure of excellent expression in the Louvre and in the Venice Academy, designated as 'Melancholy.' An animated and effective specimen of this painter is a portrait, believed to be his own, at Castle Howard.

Cristofano, or *Cristoforo*, *Allori*, a Florentine, son of *Alessandro Allori*, already mentioned, belongs to the same general school (b. 1577–d. 1621). He is one of the best artists of his time, and in some works rises far above the confined aim of his contemporaries, displaying a noble originality. His best-known and most highly finished picture—Judith with the head of Holofernes—is in the Pitti Palace. He represents her as a beautiful and splendidly-attired woman, with a grand, enthusiastic expression, and a countenance triumphant and Medusa-like, conveying all that the loftiest poetry can express in the character of Judith. In the head of Holofernes it is said that the artist has represented his own portrait, and that of his mistress in the Judith. There are several repetitions of this picture—one, of the same size, in the Vienna picture gallery, a second, of small dimensions, very delicately executed, in the Uffizi. In the Louvre there is an animated and truthful historical picture by him —Isabella of Aragon pleading with Charles VIII. for peace for her father and husband. Mr. Wells's collection also contained a noble and grandly-conceived 'St. Cecilia' by *Allori*, little inferior to the 'Judith,' attributed to *Domenichino*. Good portraits by this master often occur.

A large picture by *Jacopo Chimenti da Empoli* (b. 1554–d. 1640)—representing S. Ivo reading petitions presented to him by widows and orphans—in the Uffizi, is considered his best work. In noble conception and truth and glow of colour it reminds us of the best old Florentine masters. Other pictures by him are in the same gallery. A remarkable picture by *Matteo Rosselli* (b. 1578–d. 1650), in the Pitti Palace, representing the Triumph of David (see woodcut), is distinguished by a freshness of life and beauty, especially in the graceful female figures, and a richness of colour which entitles it to be classed with the happiest of *Domenichino*'s

creations.* A repetition of this subject by him in the Louvre differs in composition, and is less spirited and attractive. His works are found in the churches of Florence and the neighbourhood. *Matteo* formed a numerous school. *Giovanni da S. Giovanni*, called *Manozzi*, *Baldassare Franceschini*, known as *Volterranno giovane*, and *Francesco Furini*, are among the best of his followers. These artists, if unequal to their master, have left pleasing works in one department at least, viz., in portrait-painting. An excellent Hunting-party by *Giovanni da S. Giovanni* is in the Pitti; a tasteless picture in the Uffizi, representing Venus arranging Cupid's hair with a comb; and five good frescoes of a naturalistic character in the ancient cloister of the Ognissanti at Florence.

Carlo Dolce (b. 1616–d. 1686), also from the school of *Matteo Rosselli*, is about equal in merit to his contemporary *Sassoferrato*. He also almost limited himself to the confined circle of Madonnas and Saints, and in these subjects displayed a peculiar gentleness, grace, and delicacy. He is distinguished from *Sassoferrato* by a greater degree of sentimentality, which is sometimes pleasing, but it frequently degenerates into insipidity and affectation. His works are not rare in public and private galleries. The Corsini collection at Florence contains no less than fifteen, including his most celebrated and beautiful production—a female allegorical figure of Poetry. In the Pitti Gallery there is a good Madonna and Child by him; three pictures in the Dresden Gallery, the best being a St. Cecilia—a subject which he often repeated; in the Berlin Museum a St. John the Evangelist; and a Virgin and Child in the National Gallery. *Carlo Dolce* repeats himself often, and introduces the same motive in various forms—as a Madonna, a Magdalen, or a St. Apollonia. Of his historical pictures we know only one of importance—St. Andrew praying by the Cross before his Execution, dated 1646, in the Pitti. A similar picture by him is in the collection of the Earl of

* The celebrated German painter Kaulbach, is said to have classed this fine picture among the best productions of the Florentine school. It is not undeserving of the highest praise.

Ashburnham. The deep devotion of the saint is finely contrasted with the gestures of the executioners. The painting is solid, and the hands, as in all *Carlo Dolce*'s pictures, of the most admirable form. On the other hand, 'Diogenes with his Lantern,' in the same gallery, shows how little the painter had a turn for humorous subjects.

By *Carlo Dolce*'s daughter and scholar, *Agnese*, there is a picture in the Louvre representing Christ consecrating the Bread and Wine. Other works by her are in the public galleries of Modena and Siena. She was a weak imitator of her father.

In the course of the seventeenth century, a new mannerism hastened the decay of the now nearly extinct influence of the Eclectic school. The principal founder of this pernicious style, which chiefly aimed at filling space with the least cost of labour, was *Pietro Berettini da Cortona* (b. 1596–d. 1669). The intrinsic meaning of his subjects he altogether disregarded; even his thorough knowledge of Nature he turned to no purpose, but contented himself with dazzling and superficial effects, with contrasts of masses, florid colouring, and violent lights. In spite of this he scarcely succeeds in concealing his own great natural talents, and even in his most mannered works we recognise a great inventive power. He lived and worked at Florence and Rome: the allegorical paintings on the ceiling of a large saloon of the Palazzo Barberini, in the latter city, are his chief works.* In both he left a large number of scholars, who faithfully adhered to his style, and thus dictated the taste of the eighteenth century. We shall return to them.

Contemporary with this corruption of art, we remark a general decline of Italian power in every department—politics, church, and literature.

* 'Barberinæ aulæ fornix Romæ eq. Petri Berettini Cortonensis picturis admirandus. J. J. de Rubeis ed.'

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE NATURALISTI AND LATEST ITALIAN PAINTERS.

THE hostility of the *Naturalisti* to the Eclectics, particularly to the school of the *Carracci*, has already been alluded to. It manifested itself not only by means of the pencil, but, as we have seen, had recourse to poison and the dagger. The *Naturalisti* were so called from their predilection for common nature—for direct imitation. But this taste does not appear to have been merely accidental with them, or as a consequence of any particular mania for originality; on the contrary, it is founded on a peculiar feeling, which displayed itself in full force (and it must be confessed too exclusively) for the first time in their works. Strong passions are the chief subjects of their representations. The forms which they bring before us are not those of nature in a refined state, as with the great masters of the beginning of the sixteenth century—a nature in which beauty is the evidence of moral harmony, and the feelings of love or hatred seem the indications of a godlike energy. Their types lack alike this physical elevation and this divine impulse; and even when no animated scene is represented, the spectator feels that they are capable of the wildest excitement. But in the devotion to this one aim, and in rejecting the soberer ideal of their contemporaries, the *Naturalisti* carried their peculiar style of Art to a perfection which, in its effect on the feelings, far surpasses most of the works of the Eclectics. Their style of imitation, when displayed in all its extravagance, might be called *the poetry of the repulsive.* Hence their imitation of common nature as connected with the lower qualities; hence the sharp, abrupt lights and dark shadows (particularly the dark backgrounds) which are employed in their works, and which earned for them the name of the 'Tenebrosi.'

The chief master of this style was *Michael Angelo Amerighi da Caravaggio* (b. 1569–d. 1609), an artist whose wild passions

and tempestuous life were in keeping with his pictures. He resided principally in Rome, but at a later period went to Naples, Malta, and Sicily. Notwithstanding his vulgarity of conception, his works display a peculiar breadth, and, to a certain extent, even a tragic pathos, which is especially assisted by the grand lines of his draperies. It is not only his vividly falling and confined lights, or the tints of his carnations, or the coarse superficialities of the Naturalistic school, which account for the effect which his pictures produce, but it is a characteristic and original force, indicating a powerful nature, which, in spite of all inferiority, claims a certain kindred with that of *Michael Angelo* himself. Still it is true that his manner of transforming sacred subjects into scenes of earthly passion was carried too far, even for those times, so that several of his pictures were expelled from the altars they occupied. The paintings on the walls of a chapel in S. Luigi de' Francesi, at Rome, belong to his most comprehensive works. The 'Martyrdom of St. Matthew,' with the angel with a palm branch squatting upon a cloud, and a boy running away screaming, though highly animated, is an offensive production; on the other hand, the 'Calling of the Apostle' may be considered as a *genre*-picture of grand and characteristic figures. The 'Beheading of the Baptist,' in the Cathedral at Malta, is one of *Caravaggio*'s master-works. A celebrated picture by the master is an 'Entombment of Christ,' in the Vatican; a picture certainly wanting in all the characteristics of sacred feeling, and too much like the funeral ceremony of a gipsy chief, but, nevertheless, full of solemnity. There is, however, room, even within these limits, for mastery of representation, and for striking expression. A figure of such natural sorrow as the Virgin, who is represented exhausted with weeping, with her trembling, outstretched hands, has seldom been painted. The Holy Family, remarkable for its gigantic style, in the Borghese Gallery at Rome, is also a grand picture, but it again has only the air of a wild gipsy *ménage*. This want of harmony between the theme and its treatment is of course no longer striking where the subject is not of a sacred character. *Caravaggio* succeeds

best in scenes of sorcery, murder, midnight treachery, etc. Among his most remarkable pictures of this kind is the 'Dishonest Gamester,' of which there are many repetitions —the best in the Sciarra Palace (Rome); and one in the Gallery of the Capitol representing a female soothsayer, telling the fortune of a youth from his hand, and looking at him at the same time with a sensual expression. Single figures by him also have a charm of a *genre* kind; for instance, Geometry—a ragged girl smiling, as she plays with a pair of compasses—in the Spada Palace (Rome). To this class also belongs a masterly picture in the Berlin Museum, representing Earthly Love—a boy with eagle's wings, daring and reckless in character and action, rising from his couch, tramples books, musical instruments, a laurel-wreath, and other attributes of the kind, under his feet; an old woman winding thread, with a young woman sewing at her side, have, by the nimbus round their heads (though it is a question if it were not subsequently added), assumed the characters of St. Anna and the Virgin. In similar manner a pretty girl sitting sorrowfully next a casket of jewels in the Doria Palace (Rome), is made to represent a Magdalen. Among his portraits is one in the Berlin Museum, and another, of Alof de Wignacourt, Grand Master of Malta in 1601, in the Louvre, both of the finest warmth of colouring, and of grand and striking effect.

Caravaggio had several scholars and followers: of these two Frenchmen are particularly distinguished—*Moses Valentin* and *Simon Vouet*. The 'Martyrdom of SS. Processus and Martinianus' in the Vatican (also executed in St. Peter's in mosaic) by the former is a worthless picture. On the other hand, a large 'Beheading of the Baptist' by him in the Sciarra Gallery, is an excellent historical picture of striking truth. His 'Joseph interpreting Dreams,' in the Borghese Gallery, is also particularly distinguished for fine colouring in the manner of *Guercino*. *Carlo Saraceno*, a Venetian, was also a follower of *Caravaggio*, without entirely throwing off the influence of his native school. Among his pictures in the church of S. Maria dell' Anima at Rome, the 'Miracle of St. Bruno' is remarkable for a beautiful effect of

colour and a mild grace, otherwise rare in the school of *Caravaggio*.*

The *Naturalisti* appeared in their greatest strength in Naples, where they perseveringly opposed the followers of the *Carracci*. This appears to have been volcanic ground, for it was in this very locality, predestined to be the scene of the triumphs of this school, that *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, as before said, first broke out into wild naturalism. At their head was *Giuseppe Ribera*, a Spaniard, and hence called *Lo Spagnoletto* (b. 1588–d. 1656). He formed his style chiefly after *Caravaggio;* but in his earlier works we find, with many reminiscences of the Spanish school, a successful study of *Correggio* and the great Venetian masters. To these studies he is indebted for his peculiar vivacity of colour, even in his later works.† His 'Pietà,' with the Marys and disciples, in the sacristy of S. Martino, at Naples, is a masterly production, and rivals the best specimens of Italian art. The Madonna, who kneels behind the dead Christ, is strikingly beautiful. In the choir of the same church is a Last Supper by him, much in the manner of *Paul Veronese*, and containing many excellent parts; the figure of Christ is especially successful. A few other works of this, his best period, are also preserved at Naples. His large 'Adoration of the Shepherds,' though a late picture (1650), may be mentioned here. His works abound in the Madrid Gallery, where his 'Jacob's Ladder' and the 'Immaculate Conception' are among the best. In general, his pictures exhibit a wild, extravagant fancy. This is apparent in his numerous half-figures of apostles, prophets, anchorites, philosophers—all angular, bony figures—and still more in his large historical pictures. In these he delights in the most horrible subjects —executions, tortures, and martyrdoms of all kinds. A very masterly picture, representing the preparation for the martyrdom of St. Bartholomew, is in the Berlin Museum. In this instance the spectator feels a shuddering interest;

* There is some doubt as to this picture being by *Saraceno*. It has been attributed to a Fleming.

† He signs himself on a picture in the Louvre—the Adoration of the Shepherds—"José Ribera Español Accademico Romano f. 1650."

while pictures by the master elsewhere, which represent the Saint half-flayed, excite nothing but repugnance and disgust. Particularly unpleasant also, one and all, in spite of the greatest mastery of representation, are *Ribera*'s mythological scenes: for instance, his 'Silenus' in the Public Gallery at Naples; and his 'Venus lamenting over the body of Adonis,' in the Corsini Gallery at Rome. In subjects of this kind, where either grandeur and beauty, or cheerful humour, are indispensable, he was least likely to please. Most of his works have blackened with time; many, however, which bear the name of *Spagnoletto* in galleries, are by his scholars, who imitated his manner and repeatedly copied his productions. The 'Pietà,' or the Virgin weeping over the Dead Christ, in the National Gallery, is an example of *Ribera* at his best.

Contemporary with *Spagnoletto* in Naples were a few artists, who rather followed the manner of the *Carracci*, but were considerably influenced at the same time by the *Naturalisti*. To these belong *Belisario Corenzio*—a Greek, originally formed in Venice in the school of *Tintoretto*—and *Giambattista Caracciolo*. Their works are frequent in Naples.

Massimo Stanzioni (b. 1585–d. 1656), a scholar of *Caracciolo*, appears to have formed his style from the works of *M. A. da Caravaggio* and *Spagnoletto*, of whom we are reminded in many of his pictures. But in some works he manifested a much nobler feeling than any of the masters of this style, particularly in his paintings in the chapel of S. Bruno in the church of S. Martino, at Naples. In these we find an elevated beauty and repose, a noble simplicity and distinctness of line, united with such excellent colour, as are rarely to be met with in this period. *Stanzioni* was persecuted by the passionate *Spagnoletto* with not less bitterness than the foreign artists. He had painted, over the principal entrance of S. Martino, a Dead Christ, between the Marys. The picture having become rather dark, *Spagnoletto* persuaded the monks to allow him to wash it, but injured it so seriously with a corrosive liquid, that *Stanzioni* refused to restore it, in order that this scandalous piece of treachery might be known to all. *Stanzioni* formed many scholars;

but the best of them, *Domenico Finoglia*, *Giuseppe Marullo*, and others, rather inclined to the manner of *Spagnoletto*. There are numerous small wall-pictures by *Finoglia* in the lesser spaces of the Certosa of S. Martino at Naples. This splendid monastery, towering high above the city, on the steep rock of S. Elmo, possesses the greatest treasures of Neapolitan art.

Among the less important *Naturalisti* of this time are *Mattia Preti*, known as *Il Cavaliere Calabrese*, originally a scholar of *Guercino;* and the Genoese, *Bernardo Strozzi*, surnamed *Il Prete Genovese*, a powerful colourist and an excellent portrait-painter. The Neapolitan, *Andrea Vaccaro*, a follower of *M. A. da Caravaggio*, sometimes attains, in his single figures of Saints, a simple grandeur and a beautiful expression. The public gallery at Naples contains a number of them.

From the school of *Spagnoletto* arose two artists, who introduced a peculiar style—*Aniello Falcone* and *Salvator Rosa*. The latter soon left his master and studied under *Aniello*, who was the first considerable painter of battle-pieces, and the founder of a large school. This school distinguished itself also in political history, for it took part in the insurrection of Masaniello against the Spaniards, as an organized band under the name of 'La Compagnia della Morte.' After the death of Masaniello it was dissolved. *Aniello* went to France, *Salvator* to Rome.

Salvator Rosa (b. 1615–d. 1673) displayed a remarkable versatility. He painted history, *genre*, and landscape, and was, besides, a poet and musician. Many of his best works are in the Pitti Palace, and in English galleries. In history, he followed the style of the *Naturalisti*, and often treated it successfully. Some of his pictures of this class, it is true, want interest and importance, as, for instance, several in the Naples Gallery; others are merely academy figures, as the 'Prometheus' in the Corsini Palace, at Rome. Others, again, are impassioned and characteristic. The best of this kind is the 'Conspiracy of Catiline,' in the Pitti, with figures taken immediately from the excitable Neapolitan life, dressed in ancient Roman costume. Among his single characteristic figures two pictures in the Grosvenor Gallery, Diogenes and

Democritus, are distinguished. Democritus is placed in a scene of deep and dark solitude, surrounded with skeletons, statues, and other objects of fantastic grandeur of effect. *Salvator* is very great in portraiture; in this department also he followed the *Naturalisti*. The wild, gloomy portrait of a man in armour, in the Pitti, is almost comparable to Rembrandt. In battle-pieces he improved on the manner of *Aniello Falcone*, and occasionally produced excellent works of this kind. An admirable example, with an angry yellow light, is in the Louvre; an inferior one in the Pitti.

In landscape *Salvator Rosa* appears to have formed his style with tolerable independence. It was not till his later Florentine period that we fancy we trace the influence of *Claude Lorraine*. In some of his works appear the same ideal treatment, the same serenity of atmosphere and simple purity of line which are observable in *Claude*'s pictures. A large and splendid coast scene of this kind is in the Colonna Gallery at Rome. In other pictures of this description, however—for instance, in two large decorative marine pictures, in the Pitti—we observe a certain air of constraint and insipidity. He displays more beauty and originality in wild mountain scenes, lonely defiles, and deep forests; but most of all in landscapes of smaller dimensions, where this fantastic conception of Nature is more concentrated. In these he usually introduces hermits, robbers,* or soldiers, who assist the general effect of the picture, and add to the impression of loneliness, desolation, and fear. Excellent pictures of this kind are in the Public Gallery of Augsburg. In other works again the landscape becomes subordinate, and the figures form the principal subject of the picture: in these the fantastic, poetic conception of the artist appears in all its originality. A Warrior doing Penance is one of his favourite subjects. Another subject is a desolate scene, with a wooden cross erected in the branches of a tree, under which a warrior lies extended, partly naked, but wearing his helmet and some detached plates of armour; his feet and hands so bound that the latter are raised towards the cross. An excellent

* It is well known that *Salvator* himself in his youth was associated with bandits in the wildest part of Lower Italy.

example, with several variations, is in the Gallery at Vienna. The so-called, 'Selva dei Filosofi,' in the Pitti, belongs to this class. A sea-piece, in the Berlin Museum, is unique of its kind as a representation of the wildest powers of nature: a fearful storm is raging on a steep rocky coast, upon which the waves are hurling a ship. The National Gallery contains an excellent example of the master, 'Mercury and the dishonest Woodman.'

Salvator Rosa formed two landscape-painters: *Bartolommeo Torregiani*, a Roman, who, like his master, sometimes reminds us of *Claude;* and the Neapolitan, *Domenico Gargiuoli*, also known as *Micco Spadaro*, who also attempted small figures. Many works by this latter artist are met with in the public gallery at Naples. They are historically interesting as representations of contemporary events. The whole tragedy of Masaniello, and the plague of 1656, have found a true delineator in *Spadaro*.

Alessandro Magnasco, called *Lissandrino*, born at Genoa in 1661, is a clever imitator of *Salvator Rosa*, to whom his works are frequently attributed. Pictures by him are found in several collections, as at Dresden and in the Poldi-Pezzoli Gallery at Milan.

A good Sicilian master of this time, *Pietro Novelli*, called *Monrealese*, may also be named here. He appears to fill up the space between the Spanish painters and *Caravaggio*. The 'Marriage at Cana,' in the refectory of the Benedictines, at Monreale, is considered his best picture. There are many good portraits by him in Rome.

The style of *genre* and battle-painting was also followed by some other artists of the time. *Michael Angelo Cerquozzi*, known as *Michael Angelo delle Battaglie* (b. 1602–d. 1660), is highly distinguished in battle-pieces, and more particularly in scenes from low life, in the style of *Peter van Laar* (then enjoying great popularity in Rome). Not only in general *naïveté* and humour, but also in careful completeness, and in masterly treatment of colour, he may occasionally be put on a par with the best Netherlandish painters. It was not the beauties and prettinesses of Italian life, the gay costume, etc., which attracted him, but the tattered Lazzaroni, in their

picturesque and harmless character—for the artist then little knew that painting could be used as a means of social incitement to sedition. An excellent picture by him, representing the entry of one of the popes into Rome, is in the Berlin Museum. Another, in the Spada Palace at Rome—the touching picture of the Dead Ass. A man is carrying away the saddle and turning once more to look at the faithful animal; an old woman has just wiped her eyes with her apron, and a girl is kneeling with a sorrowful mien. The Frenchman, *Jacques Courtois*, or *Bourguignon*, known in Italy as *Jacopo Cortese Borgognone* (b. 1621–d. 1671), one of the most celebrated of the battle-painters, was a scholar of *Cerquozzi*. His battle-pieces are often clever and animated, but very slight in execution. It must be remembered, however, that pictures by a number of his imitators bear his name. Two of his original battle-pieces are in the Borghese Palace (Rome).

The energy of the Neapolitan artists of this period was not imitated by their successors, who chiefly followed the manner of *Pietro da Cortona*, and introduced a similarly vicious style into Neapolitan Art. To these belong one of the greatest geniuses of modern Art, the rapid painter *Luca Giordano*, nicknamed *Luca Fa Presto* (born 1632), the scholar of *Spagnoletto*. No painter ever made a worse use of extraordinary gifts. Beauty, character, dramatic life, glow of colouring, all are seen in his pictures; but a slight and rapid mode of execution was all he cared for, and to this he sacrificed every other quality. In burlesquely-treated subjects this perverse kind of self-injustice is less objectionable. For instance, we can look with delight at that colossal fresco in the church of the Gerolimini, at Naples, where Christ is driving the Lazzaroni-like buyers and sellers down the double steps; on the other hand, it is with a certain melancholy that we trace his high gifts in the ceiling-frescoes of S. Martino, and in the Gallery of the Palazzo Riccardi at Florence, and compare such specimens with those pictures which he executed by the dozen. *Luca* was invited to Spain by Charles II., and executed a large number of works in oil and in fresco in Madrid, and at the Escorial. He returned to Naples, and died there in 1705.

Among the Venetians of the seventeenth century we find much mannerism, together with the influence of foreign Art, yet the peculiar tendency of their school, and the traditions of their great masters—of *Titian* and *Paul Veronese*—still predominated, and was the means of producing some meritorious works.

Jacopo Palma giovane (b. 1544–d. 1628), evinces, notwithstanding his mechanical manner, much talent, and is sometimes beautiful in details, particularly in his heads. He was the son of *Antonio Palma*, a painter by whom there is a signed picture in the Stuttgart Gallery, and grand-nephew of *Palma Vecchio*. Some of his best pictures are at Venice, in the palace of the Doge, in the Academy, and in the churches—as a good Madonna with Saints in S. Francesco della Vigna, and a 'St. Catherine Rescued from the Wheel,' in the Frari. *Giovanni Contarini*, a later artist, appears to be an imitator of *Titian*. His contemporary, *Carlo Ridolfi*, whose works are less mannered, distinguished himself as an historian of the Venetian school.

The most important artist of this school in the seventeenth century was *Alessandro Varotari* of Padua, surnamed *Il Padovanino* (b. 1590–d. 1650). Far from falling into the extravagance of *Palma giovane*, *Padovanino* was attracted to the study of *Titian*. The spectator, however, feels, as in the instance of *Cigoli* and his fellow-artists, that his sense of beauty was something mannered and conscious, not perfectly artless, though far also from being merely coldly academic. In this respect a comparison between the female half-length figures of *Padovanino*, in the Venice Academy, with *Titian*'s pictures, is highly interesting. That gallery contains also his principal work, the 'Marriage of Cana'—partly in the manner of *Paul Veronese*. The same beauty, with a noble expression of unearthly longing, is presented to us in the picture of a Saint in Deacon's Orders, in the moment of ecstasy, also in the Academy. The picture over the high altar in the church of S. Tomà is a fine example of his Titianesque colour. *Pietro Liberi*, another Paduan, is a less pleasing artist. *Alessandro Turchi*, a Veronese, surnamed *L'Orbetto*, by the finish and grace of his pictures occupies

a not unimportant place among the artists of this period. In the same way as *Padovanino* reminds us of *Cigoli* and *Allori*, does *L'Orbetto* recall *Matteo Rosselli:* for instance, in his picture of the Fine Arts, in the Colonna Palace at Rome. Other pictures by him are at Dresden and elsewhere.

An excellent portrait-painter was *Vittore Ghislandi*, known as the *Frate di Galgario*, born at Bergamo in 1655. The Poldi-Pezzoli Gallery, Milan, contains several portraits by him—one of an 'Abbate' (No. 12 bis) may be especially mentioned, which, for its refinement, simple treatment, and truth to Nature, recalls his great fellow-countryman *Moroni*. In the public gallery of Bergamo are also several good examples. Until recently portraits by him were almost exclusively in the possession of private families in the province of Bergamo, for whom they were painted.*

We can only slightly touch upon the later fate of Italian Art. With the close of the seventeenth century all independence of feeling had vanished from almost every school, except that of Venice, where the traditions of the best times still lingered for a while. One general level of style, partaking mostly of that of *Pietro da Cortona*, characterised, with few exceptions, the numerous and much-employed Italian artists of this period. To these we may, without injustice, apply the term 'scene-painters,' not only because it was their chief aim to fill large spaces in the shortest possible time with the most striking and attractive effects, and that without reference either to their own gifts or to the true forms of Nature, but also because they regarded the varieties of *genre*, still-life, and flower-painting, from a merely decorative point of view, in contradistinction to the Netherlandish painters, who studied the true nature of such art. These forms of art, therefore, scarcely ever attained any real development in Italy, and have to this day the appearance of a spurious kind of historical painting

Not that this period, degenerate as it might be, was devoid of considerable talents and technical powers. We may cite among the scholars of *Pietro da Cortona* the sometimes

* For an account of this painter see Tassi, 'Vite de' Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti Bergamaschi.' Bergamo, 1793.

truly pleasing *Gianfranco Romanelli* (died 1662) and *Ciro Ferri* (died 1689), as well as his imitator *Benedetto Luti* (died 1724); among the scholars of *Andrea Sacchi*, *Filippo Lauri* (died 1694); among the Venetians, the mannered but not ungifted *Pietro della Vecchia*, *Carlo Lotti* (properly *Loth* of Munich), scholar of *Liberi* (died 1698), *Pietro Rotari* of Verona (died 1762); with the occasionally happy imitator of *Paul Veronese*, *Sebastiano Ricci* (died 1729), by whom there are altar-pieces of considerable merit in the churches of Venice, the best probably that in the Gesuati representing Pope Pius V. and SS. Thomas and Peter Martyr.

Giovanni, or *Gian*, *Battista Tiepolo* deserves more than a passing notice. He was a painter of very considerable ability, if not of genius, and preserved some of the best traditions of the Venetian school as a colourist. He was especially distinguished as a worker in fresco. He was, indeed, the last of the Italian painters who excelled in that branch of the art. It has been said of him, and perhaps not without truth, that had he lived in the time of *Paul Veronese* he would have rivalled that great master. He was born at Venice in 1696, and was probably the scholar of *Gregorio Lazzarini*, a very inferior painter, and of *Piazzetta*; but he formed his style upon the study of the works of *Paul Veronese* and other heads of the Venetian school. He was principally employed in his native city, where he painted altar-pieces for various churches. Among his best may be mentioned the 'Christ on the way to Calvary,' in S. Alvise, a striking composition, remarkable for its fine colouring; and the 'Virgin in Glory,' with very graceful figures of three female Saints—Rosa of Lima, Catherine of Siena and Agnese of Montepulciano—in the Gesuati. In the compartments of a ceiling in the Scuola del Carmine, painted in oil on canvas, he shows himself a brilliant colourist inspired by *Titian*, and displays a refined beauty and grace—as in the centre group of the Virgin and Child—which have been rarely exceeded. Two small but characteristic pictures by *Tiepolo* in the National Gallery are examples of his facility of touch and his fine sense of colour. But it was as a fresco-painter that he principally showed his genius. The history

of Antony and Cleopatra, which he painted on the walls of a hall in the Palazzo Labia (Venice), is a very noble work, which in its firmness and decision of treatment, brilliant and transparent colouring, skilful drawing and fantastic imagination, recalls *Paul Veronese.** He painted with great rapidity, having acquired perfect mastery of the technical process, and covered vast ceilings of churches with subjects in which he introduced numerous figures, seen in every possible attitude, and foreshortened in every possible way, as in the Gesuati and the Pietà. Among similar works which he executed elsewhere may be mentioned a ceiling in the Villa Stra, once the princely residence of the Pisani between Venice and Padua, in which he has represented a member of that patrician family in the costume of the period, with full-bottomed wig, seated in the lap of a nude allegorical female figure; the decorations of the Villa Valmarana, near Vicenza; ceilings in the Congregazione di Carità, and in the Palazzo Clerici, now Tribunale, at Milan; and the decorations of the Cappella Colleoni at Bergamo. In 1762 *Tiepolo* was invited by Charles III. to Spain, where, notwithstanding his age, he executed numerous works; among them the ceiling of the Throne Room in the Royal Palace at Madrid. He died in that city in 1770.† He left a son, *Giovanni Domenico*, known as *Tiepoletto*, a painter of some ability, whose works frequently pass for his father's. He died as late as 1804.

Pietro Longhi, a *genre*-painter, who died in 1762, gracefully represented scenes in Venetian private life, such as Goldoni has described, and has been called the Venetian Hogarth, although greatly inferior in every respect to that great and original English painter. He is represented in the National Gallery. His son, *Alessandro*, was a portrait-painter of some merit. *Rosalba Carriera*, a native of Venice, is known for her clever portraits in pastille. Finally among

* Copies of these fine frescoes are in the collection of the Arundel Society.

† 'Tiepolo e la sua Famiglia,' by G. M. Urbani de Gheltof, Venice, 1879. *Tiepolo*'s pictures are now much esteemed and sought after. He was also an engraver.

the followers of *Luca Giordano* may be mentioned *Paolo de Matteis* (died 1729), *Sebastian Conca* (died 1764), and *Francesco Solimena* (died 1747).

As regards the other departments of art, neither *Giovanni Battista Castiglione* (died 1670), painter of still life and animals, nor *Mario dei Fiori* (died 1673), flower painter, nor *Giovanni Paolo Panini* (died 1764), architectural painter, can be in any way compared with the contemporary Netherlandish painters in those walks. A more successful and original painter than any of those above mentioned was *Antonio Canale*, called *Canaletto*. He is celebrated for his views in Venice, where he was born in 1697. He was the pupil of *Luca Carlevaris*, a clever painter of similar subjects (b. 1665–d. 1718). *Canale* twice visited England, where he left numerous works, among them views in London, which are to be found in public and private collections in this country. One of his best pictures of his best time, executed before his early feeling for colour was impaired, is a view in Venice, in the National Gallery (No. 127). *Tiepolo* sometimes painted the figures introduced into *Canaletto*'s pictures—as in the procession of the Scuola di San Rocco in the same collection. He died at Venice in 1768. His nephew and imitator, *Bernardo Bellotto*, was also called *Canaletto*. Hence the works of the two are frequently confounded, and are not always easily distinguished. *Bellotto* was born at Venice about 1720, and died at Warsaw in 1780. The Dresden Gallery contains numerous pictures by him. *Francesco Guardi* (b. 1712–d. 1793) was also an imitator of *Canale*. His works, which are much prized, are marked by a bright sparkle and great facility of execution. An excellent example is a view of the Palazzo Labia at Venice, in the National Gallery (No. 1054). He was the brother-in-law of *Tiepolo*.

After the middle of the eighteenth century a desire for severer study again appeared amid the confusion of styles that divided Italian art. This desire was especially awakened by foreigners; by Winckelmann, who first felt and communicated the spirit of the antique in all its depth; and by *Raphael Mengs*, whose works exhibit a new form of eclecticism.

This aim is also apparent in the works of *Pompeo Batoni*,* among which an altar-picture representing the fall of Simon Magus, in the church of S. Maria degli Angeli (Rome), deserves to be mentioned with honour.

But no important consequences followed this new impulse. Toward the close of the century, the French painter *David* was considered the first master of modern art, and the Italian painters followed in the path he had opened. Numerous works appeared in the beginning of the nineteenth century in Italy, which evince the same predilection for the antique, and the same influence of the French stage—the circle in which the genius of *David* moved. *Pietro Benvenuti*, of Perugia, is the best of these artists: his 'Judith displaying the Head of Holofernes to the assembled people,' in the Duomo of Arezzo, and his 'Pyrrhus killing Priam after the taking of Troy,' in the Palazzo Corsini (Florence), are among the more meritorious works which may be said to have emanated from *David*'s school. Single works, also, by *Andrea Appiani*, exhibit a simple grandeur devoid of the theatrical character of the French school; such as his frescoes in the palace at Milan. *Vincenzio Cammuccini* was also one of the best masters in this style. This form of art, however, died away in Italy as elsewhere, and was succeeded by a period in which, though exhibitions in the modern fashion were annually held, the traveller in vain sought for any works of real interest or promise. But great changes have taken place since the liberty and unity of Italy were achieved, and it may be hoped that, although her artists may fail to revive the ancient glories of Italian Art, they will at least attain to the same level as the painters of other countries, and will resist the tendency which is showing itself in Italy, as elsewhere, to degrade their art by meretricious taste and too facile execution.

* Cav. O. Boni, 'Elogio del Cav. Pompeo Batoni.' Roma, 1787.

LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL BOMBAY BRANCH OF

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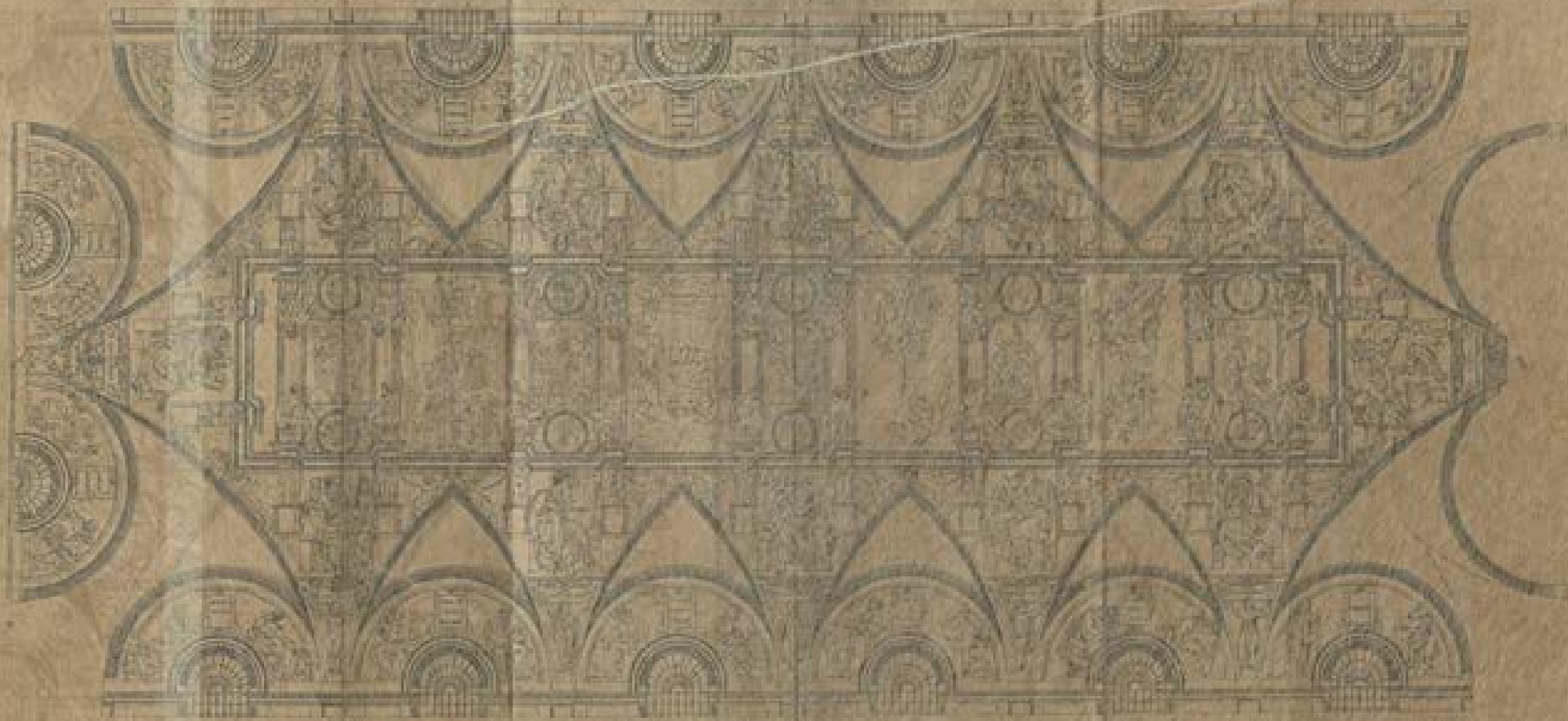

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